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REV^D DAN TAYLOR,

Age 71.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. DAN TAYLOR,

LATE PASTOR OF THE GENERAL BAPTIST CHURCH,

Whitechapel, London;

WITH

EXTRACTS

FROM HIS

DIARY, CORRESPONDENCE, AND UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS.

BY ADAM TAYLOR.

"In labours more abundant——in journeyings often——in weariness and painfulness——besides that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches."

PAUL.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

WHEN it pleased the great Disposer of all events to call to himself the venerable Minister who is the subject of the following pages, it appeared to be the general feeling of his friends, that it would be ungrateful to permit a person who had been the honoured instrument in forming the New Connection, and had laboured, for nearly half a century, with such diligence, disinterestedness and success, in promoting its prosperity, to sink unnoticed into the grave. It was also hoped, that a faithful detail of his exertions for the glory of his God and the good of his fellow creatures might be useful in assisting and encouraging surviving christians, and especially young ministers, in the prosecution of the same great objects. At the ensuing Association, at Castle Donington, in 1817, it was therefore unanimously resolved, "That a Life of our late venerable Brother, Dan Taylor, is very desirable;" and the Author was requested to undertake the compilation of it. It certainly would have afforded him pleasure, if a person of more leisure and less closely connected with the deceased had been selected for the work; but when it was urged that he had enjoyed a considerable intimacy with Mr. T. for the last twenty years—that he had access to all his papers as executor—and that the collections which he had made in composing a former work had already furnished *him* with much interesting information, he felt it his duty to comply. Whether he has been able to avail himself successfully of these advantages, in the execution of the task assigned him, must be left to the judgment of the intelligent reader.

In writing this Memoir, the Author has studiously avoided all affectation or display, either as to matter or manner. To have given an account of Dan Taylor in a pompous, embellished style, had the writer been ever so capable of it, would have been ridiculously inconsistent. All that is aimed at, is a plain and simple narration of facts, disposed in their natural order, and adapted to give the reader a just idea of the character, and an accurate conception of the labours of that worthy man. To attain this, all the documents that could be procured have been carefully examined, the surviving friends and connections of the deceased have been consulted, and an attempt has been made to follow him, from year to year, through the whole course of his active life. This method, it is true, has its inconveniences; but after mature deliberation it was thought the most eligible. It brings the subject indeed before the reader frequently in similar scenes, and thus has an appearance of repetition which some may deem tedious. This however is not wholly the fault of the writer. It is because his hero so often took journeys, attended Associations, assisted at Ordinations, engaged in Disputes, &c. that he is obliged so often to narrate them. And it was thought impossible to convey any adequate view of his industry, zeal and labours, by a more general description, without a chronological enumeration of particulars. But efforts have been made to render these parts as concise as a due regard to the object of the work would permit.

The author is persuaded, that no apology is necessary for introducing the *Extracts* from the Diary and Correspondence of the deceased. It ought however to be observed, that the Diary was written in the beginning of his religious profession; and that he evidently could not expect that it would ever be seen by any of his fellow creatures. He therefore notes the feelings of his mind in the most artless and unstudied language. These entries are the unvarnished and unreviewed effusions of a young christian, who was earnestly endeavouring so to run that he might

obtain the prize of his high calling in Christ Jesus. Most of his Letters also were the product of the moment; frequently scrawled over when he was busily engaged in other duties; and dispatched without correction, and probably often without perusal. To consider therefore any of these Extracts as specimens of his skill in composition or accuracy of style would be, in the highest degree, unfair: they are designed to give a view of the heart of the writer, and to enable the reader to estimate the value of his character, and the variety of his labours. For this purpose they are peculiarly valuable.

In sketching the character of Mr. T. the Author has laboured after impartiality and usefulness, by selecting such traits as might be advantageously imitated, and stating them with fidelity. And, with the same view, he has not scrupled to notice defects, when they might operate as warnings to others in similar circumstances. Aware, however, that his neutrality might be suspected, on account of his acknowledged veneration for the worthy original, he has availed himself of the assistance of several surviving ministers who were well acquainted with the deceased, and who have kindly favoured him with their sentiments. And he trusts, it will appear, on a candid examination, that he has not either unreasonably exalted or depressed the character which he has attempted to delineate. He expects to be blamed for both extremes; but a consciousness of having sincerely intended to be faithful will, he hopes, enable him to support such censure with fortitude.

It would be ingratitude in the writer not publickly to acknowledge the obligations which he owes to those friends who have assisted him with their kind communications respecting Mr. T.'s labours, writings and character; as well as with the Loan of Letters which they have received from him. To such he returns his sincere thanks; and trusts that a perusal of the succeeding volume will prove that he has duly appreciated their favours.

On the whole, the Author has endeavoured to keep in view the objects which animated the zeal of the good man whose history he has recorded; and aimed at the profit more than the entertainment of the reader. If this Memoir should be blessed as the means of comforting or instructing the children of God in general, or tend to the encouragement, animation or direction of young ministers, for whose benefit it is more especially designed, his purpose will be accomplished; and he will bless that God who has enabled him, in the midst of many avocations, to complete the work.

SHAKESPEAR'S WALK,
23 March, 1820.

ERRATA.

Page 25, lines 15 & 16, read "a fine girl of almost *two years and one quarter* old, and his son, *ten months*."

Page 137, line 16, read, "will do *them* no good."
— 190, line 27, for "1798" read "1789."

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MEMOIRS

OF THE
REV. DAN TAYLOR.

CHAPTER FIRST.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE FORMATION OF THE NEW CONNECTION OF GENERAL BAPTISTS.

SECTION I. *The Transactions of the First Period.*

THE venerable Minister whose labours and character we propose to record, could not boast of splendid ancestry, nor trace his pedigree to distant ages. Nothing certain can be recovered respecting his progenitors, previous to his paternal grandfather, *Adam Taylor*, who was born in 1650, and resided in Lancashire till 1680; when he removed into the West Riding of Yorkshire. It has been supposed that the unsettled state of religion, under the tyrannical Stuarts, might have induced him to leave his native country; but of this there is no direct evidence. He rented some land in Northowram, called Horley-Green, within a short mile of Halifax; and supported, through life, the character of a reputable farmer. He was twice married, and had eleven children by each wife. He died January 27, 1727, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and was buried in Halifax church-yard. The small-pox made affecting ravages in his numerous family. In February 1714, six of his children, three sons and three daughters, were cut off, in the short space of a fortnight, by this cruel disorder. Their names were *Tamar, Terah, Zara, Er, Abiah, and Tirzah*; and they lie beneath the same stone with their father.

Azor Taylor was Adam Taylor's twentieth child, and born in 1711. He married, for his second wife, Mary, the daughter of Robert Willey, of Fold. Her mother's maiden name was Hannah Shepherd; whose relatives were near neighbours to the pious Oliver Heywood; and there is reason to conclude were connected with that worthy minister. Azor Taylor and his wife, though in narrow circumstances, were industrious and respectable; very regular in their attendance on the worship of the established church, and noted for taking more care of the education and morals of their children than many of their neighbours. Being both good readers, they possessed more books than usually fall to the share of persons of their station in society; and taught their children to read in their infancy.

DAN TAYLOR, the subject of this memoir, was the second child of this worthy couple. He was born December 21, 1738, at a place called Sour-Milk-Hall, in Northowram. In his infancy, he was remarkable for bodily vigour and activity; and very early exhibited proofs of strong intellectual faculties. At three years of age he could read well; and, before he attained his fifth year, his proficiency in that useful art was so noted, that strangers frequently visited his father, in order to hear his son read the tenth chapter of Nehemiah, which they styled the hard chapter. This he performed so much to their satisfaction, that he usually received small presents, as tokens of their approbation. For his skill in this essential part of education, he was chiefly indebted to the attention of his affectionate mother, who proud of his promising talents, took every opportunity of cultivating them. Nor was the son insensible of his obligations; but always ready to give her all the credit of his acquirements. One day, while yet but a boy, he attended at church with a number of other children to be catechized, when the clergyman struck with the readiness of his answers, asked him, "Who taught you to read?" The boy, eager to do justice to his beloved instructor, replied in a voice loud enough to be heard throughout the building, "My mother!" As this good woman made her scholar take most of his lessons from the Bible, it might with great propriety be said, of him, as it was of young Timothy, that he "knew the scriptures from his youth."

When almost five years of age, he was sent to work in a coal-

mine with his father; a proof of the scanty means of the family, which obliged them to put him so early to such hard labour. But in this situation, his natural intrepidity was conspicuous. Though so young, he appeared as void of fear when one hundred yards below the surface of the earth, as he did, in future life, when in the pulpit addressing the most numerous congregations.

In this dangerous and toilsome occupation, this boy spent many succeeding years. He daily descended into the pit early in the morning, and continued busy under ground till late in the afternoon: so that, during the winter season, he seldom saw the light of the sun, except on the Lord's day. The strength of his constitution and the vigour of his mind enabled him to support great fatigue; but this excessive confinement and labour, in his tender years, probably checked his growth and kept him low in stature. It could not however damp his ardour for knowledge, nor abate his exertions to obtain it. Every leisure hour that he could command was sedulously devoted to the acquisition of useful learning; and, so intent was he on this object, that he soon began to take a book with him into the coal-mine, and improved every occasional intermission of labour to enrich his mind. It might be interesting and instructive to trace the progress of his mental improvement; but the want of proper information forbids the attempt. This however is certain, that, though labouring under great disadvantages, without instructors, and with little money to purchase books, his success was great; and his fame for learning spread through the neighbourhood. He was frequently employed in teaching others, before he was ten years old. His neighbours indeed were probably no very accurate judges of literary excellence; but we shall soon have decisive evidence, that his attainments, considering the circumstances in which he was placed, were highly respectable; and reflect great credit on his abilities and application.

This decided taste for mental improvement and his regular occupation as a labourer, happily engrossed most of his time, and preserved him from many of the temptations incident to the station in which he acted. He had seldom leisure for childish amusements; and therefore was not so much exposed to the company of wicked children. But, like all the offspring of fallen Adam, he was prone to evil. His temper was warm and easily irritated; and, when roused to anger, he was ready to seek re-

venge. This naturally involved him in quarrels; and prompted him, when under the dominion of his passions, to use improper expressions; especially when he found himself too weak to attack the offender. When he was about nine years of age, one of his fellow workmen accidentally wounded him with a pickaxe. Filled with resentment, he used violent language against the aggressor; and, in his rage, took the sacred name of God in vain. His father being soon afterwards informed of the circumstance, corrected him very severely; mingling his strokes with serious expostulations on the enormity of the offence, and sanctioning his reproofs by a solemn application of that awful interrogatory to the despisers of the Lord, *Rev. vi. 17.* “The great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?” Through the influence of divine grace, his father’s chastisement and this awakening passage, made a lasting impression on his young mind; and, thirty-five years afterwards, when preaching the funeral sermon for his deceased parent, with the coffin before him, he took this passage of scripture for his text; and publickly ascribed his first convictions to this incident.

A striking deliverance, which he experienced not long afterwards, probably deepened these religious impressions. A large quantity of water had accumulated in a coal-mine, and obstructed the operations of the workmen. Young Dan and the miner under whom he then laboured, being employed to open a drain for it, in an adjoining mine, inadvertently approached the mass of water; which suddenly forced its way, and rushed upon them in an overwhelming body. The active boy, on perceiving the danger started off towards the mouth of the pit, and leaping over his companion, actually outran the stream. On reaching the bottom of the shaft, he was quickly drawn up by those at the top; and closely followed by the water, which filled the pit to the height of several fathoms. In a short time it found a passage through the proper outlets, and the mine was cleared. The spectators were soon agreeably surprized at finding the workman safe; who in the moment of danger, had climbed to a part of the works above the level of the water. Thus both the man and boy were delivered from the most imminent danger, by means at once astonishing and instructive.

The concern for the salvation of his soul continued to increase. At times his convictions of sin were strong. He went frequently

to hear the Methodists, who had been some time established at Halifax. When about fifteen, he became regular in his attendance on their worship, not only on the Lord's days, but often on the week day evenings. His usual companion on these occasions was his brother John. Notwithstanding their hard labour through the week, they were in the constant habit of walking on the Lord's day, six, ten, and sometimes twelve miles from home to hear their favourite ministers. John and Charles Wesley and G. Whitfield stood high in the opinion of these youths; and to hear them they cheerfully would travel twenty or even thirty miles on foot, with often a very scanty supply of food to support them. "But at times, 'says one of them,' we experienced such special pleasure in our trudging to hear good preachers that it was to us as meat and drink." But the minister most highly esteemed by them was the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth; on whose awakening labours they frequently attended, though the distance was upwards of twelve miles.

This conscientious youth did not confine his religion to an attendance on the public means of grace; he wished it to regulate all his conduct. He observed with regret, the neglect of family worship in his father's house, and was anxious to introduce it, but at a loss how to make the attempt: not daring to mention the subject to his father, who had something of sternness in his temper, and kept his children at a distance. In this perplexity, he consulted with his brother John, who was his chief adviser in such concerns. Judging it imprudent to interfere in the management of the family, they determined to discharge their own duty. Retiring into an unoccupied room, the elder brother commenced the social exercise by reading a portion of scripture and engaging in prayer. When he had finished, he encouraged his young associate to imitate his example. Mr. D. Taylor was then in his fifteenth year; and this was probably the first time that he engaged in any religious exercise, in the presence of a fellow creature. The boys continued this practice, as opportunity offered, as long as they dwelt under the paternal roof.

When nearly sixteen years of age, he with another brother and a sister, was confirmed by the bishop, and thus made a regular member of the church of England. Probably his attachment to the Methodists, who were then rigid adherents to the establishment, induced him to submit to this ceremony without previous

examination. It can hardly be supposed, that, acquainted as he then must be with the New Testament, he could have approved of it, had he reflected at all on the subject. His brother John, who was four years younger than he, felt the inconsistency of confirming heedless or wicked children, and escaped the operation.

During the four succeeding years, this young man constantly attended the public means of grace; and frequently was present at the prayer and class meetings of the Methodists. Yet, though so careful to embrace every opportunity of learning the way of salvation, he was long under great distress and darkness of mind. At times, especially on his return from prayer meetings, his trouble of soul rose to anguish and melted him to tears. He has often been heard to say, that if the gospel had been preached as it ought to have been, he should have obtained liberty much sooner. By degrees he obtained clearer views of the plan of mercy through a redeemer; and was enabled, with greater confidence, to lay hold on the hope set before him in the gospel. The application of that noble passage, *John* iii. 16, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life," was, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, made very instrumental in producing these happy effects. He was now desirous of making a more decided profession of his attachment to that Saviour whom his soul had found precious; and, soon after he had attained his twentieth year, he proposed himself to the Methodists, and was gladly received into strict communion with them.

Though Mr. Taylor was at this period steady in his attachments to the Methodists, and regular in his attendance at their assemblies; yet he occasionally heard preachers of other denominations. When he was about sixteen, the Particular Baptists began to endeavour to raise an interest at Halifax. His brother John, who, though only twelve years of age, was a zealous calvinist, went frequently to hear their ministers; and the subject of this memoir, to please his brother, as well as to learn their sentiments, sometimes accompanied him. He was however, from his first beginning to think on religious subjects, a decided opposer of the doctrines of high calvinism. At this time, these doctrines became the general topic of conversation in the neighbourhood; and he was then a warm advocate for the great truth,

that Christ died for every man, which he afterwards defended so ably, throughout his long life, both from the pulpit and from the press.

In September, 1758, his mother died; and that event affected him deeply. The circumstances of the family induced him and his brother John to leave their father's house. They hired a room near Halifax, and provided for themselves. Probably one inducement with Mr. D. Taylor to choose his situation, was that he might more conveniently attend the instructions of Mr. Titus Knight, then in connection with the Methodists. This gentleman taught a school at Halifax; and Mr. T. attended him, at his leisure hours. Here he cultivated the languages which he had for some time attempted without instructor. Mr. J. Taylor observes at this date: "My brother Dan was now a young man: his spare hours busily employed in learning, and the rest in religion." He must have improved his leisure with great assiduity, as we shall find, that, in a few years afterwards, he had attained a considerable acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. This occasional attendance at Mr. Knight's school was the only opportunity he ever enjoyed of a living preceptor.

But this ardent pursuit of learning did not cause him to forget the claims of humanity. His mother had left a young son, named James, of about five years of age. To him the two elder brothers were very much attached; and felt unwilling to leave him to the care of strangers. They therefore took him with them when they left their father's house, and maintained him as long as they lived together, which was little more than a year. In the spring of 1760, they gave up their apartment; and Mr. D. Taylor went to live with a person of the name of Godfrey Honley; a worthy man of "the same craft" with himself; being both a coal-miner and a Methodist. He took with him his young brother, and continued with affectionate solicitude, to provide for his support.

Here he pursued with increased alacrity and success, his literary studies. Indeed his disposition was well adapted to succeed in whatever he undertook. To a good understanding and quick powers of mind, he joined an unwearied application and an unyielding resolution, which enabled him to encounter and conquer difficulties that, to an ordinary mind, would have appeared insurmountable. His progress in religion kept pace with his advances in literature. His regular conduct and zealous endeavours

to promote the interest of real piety in his own heart and amongst his associates gained him great respect from his christian friends; while his occasional exercises in social prayer, and visiting the sick raised an high opinion of his gifts. It soon became the general wish of those who best knew him, that he would begin to preach, and several urged him to make the attempt. For some time, he resisted their importunities; but the superintendant of the district soon put an end to his hesitation. This gentleman, taking Mr. T. aside one evening, told him, without preface or apology, that he must prepare to preach before a number of select judges early the next morning. The young man was thunderstruck at the communication, and retired to his lodgings in great perturbation of mind. There he sat up the greatest part of the night; and, by the light of the fire, endeavoured to prepare for the task. In the morning he made the attempt with much fear and trembling, from *Ephes.* ii. 8. "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." When he had concluded, he withdrew, abashed under a deep sense of the imperfection of his performance. In the course of the forenoon, the superintendant expressed to a friend his satisfaction with the discourse, and his hopes of the preacher. The friend observed, "You should have taken the young man with you to breakfast, and told him how well you thought he had succeeded," "O!" replied the other, "the devil has told him that long ago." This probationary discourse opened the way for Mr. T's regular entrance on the work of the ministry; and he preached his first public discourse in September, 1761, in a dwelling house at Hipperholm, a village near Halifax.

Mr. T. was now frequently employed as a local preacher, in various parts of the district, with great acceptance and success. The opinion of his superior abilities for the sacred work was confirmed; and several of his friends thought him qualified for a more extended sphere of usefulness. They earnestly pressed him to wait on Mr. John Wesley, the patriarch of the Methodists, in order that he might be admitted as a travelling preacher. But he was by no means forward to take this decisive step. He had begun to examine divine truth for himself, and was already determined to form his opinions and regulate his conduct by scripture alone; and to "call no man master on earth." Pursuing this course, though he agreed with Mr. Wesley in many

leading points, yet, he doubted of the propriety of his mode of explaining several other important parts of doctrine. Besides this, he was convinced that the New Testament gave no countenance, either by precept or example, to the scheme of discipline which that gentleman had imposed on his followers. Indeed his independent spirit was not formed to submit to that dictatorship which Mr. Wesley then assumed over the conduct and faith of his preachers. Instead therefore of applying to the great man for his permission to preach the gospel, Mr. T. at Midsummer, 1762, withdrew entirely from all connection with him and his adherents.

About the time that Mr. D. Taylor left the Methodists, several other ministers, in the same neighbourhood, seceded from them. Amongst these were, Mr. Titus Knight, already mentioned as Mr. T's tutor, who raised an independent church at Halifax, over which he presided for many years with credit and success; Mr. James Crossley, who became pastor of a church at Holmhouse, near Luddenden; and Mr. Edwards, the founder of an independent interest at Leeds. These all embraced the calvinistic doctrines; but Mr. T. retained firmly his opposition to personal election.

Mr. T's character and abilities were too well known to permit him to remain long unemployed. Four persons in the vicinity of Heptonstall, a village nine miles west of Halifax, had recently detached themselves from the Methodists; and being previously acquainted with him, invited him to preach for them. This invitation he accepted; and, in a few weeks after his secession from his former associates, delivered his first discourse for them, in the open air, at a place called *The Nook*, in Wadsworth, the adjoining township to Heptonstall. He preached several times in the same place, and the attendance was, considering the circumstances, rather encouraging. At that time, the country was remarkably wild and uncultivated; the inhabitants few, scattered and in general depraved; and the four friends who had invited him, occupying low stations in society, and possessing little influence: yet, with this discouraging prospect before him, Mr. T. resolved to cast his lot amongst them; and to attempt to introduce the gospel into this dark neighbourhood. Accordingly, at Michaelmas, 1762, he left Halifax, and removed to Wadsworth. He now took a final leave of the coal-mine, and

devoted himself to the work of the ministry. He boarded at Wadsworth with a poor religious woman, who thought herself honoured by having a minister for her guest, and well paid for his maintenance with a few shillings weekly.

His few associates were unable, from the straitness of their circumstances, to contribute much towards the support of the cause in which they had engaged; and the winter was approaching, when they would be less able to continue their present support, and when preaching in the open air would be no longer practicable. All these discouragements had probably been foreseen by our young minister; but he was too resolute to abandon an attempt in which he thought the glory of God and the salvation of immortal souls were concerned, because it was attended with difficulties; and too independent in spirit to wish to be a burden on others. He therefore took apartments, and resolved to exert himself to preserve the interest from expiring in its very birth. The apartments were fitted up to answer the double purpose of a place of worship and a school. Mr. T. preached in them on the Lord's day; and taught a few children, during the rest of the week. In both employments he was successful: and the profits of the latter enabled him to pursue the former with more freedom and to greater advantage.

During the winter, Mr. T. and his friends found it necessary to consider on what principles they could unite to carry on the cause of their blessed Redeemer. Their difference of opinion respecting the extent of the atonement made by the death of Christ forbade them to join with the independents, though they nearly agreed with them in their sentiments on church order and government. While they were deliberating on this subject, their attention was called to another no less important. The Particular Baptists had, several years previous to this date, founded various churches within ten or fifteen miles of Wadsworth; and had been, for some time, making an attempt to introduce their cause into Halifax. The subject of believers' baptism became a topic of conversation among the professors of religion; and it was natural for a mind so inquisitive and active as Mr. Taylor's, to be led to examine a point so interesting. He had indeed paid some attention to it while amongst the Methodists, and teased them sufficiently with his queries and doubts; but he now thought it to be his duty to endeavour to satisfy his own mind on the subject,

that he might be able to instruct others. He has himself left us an account of the progress and result of this investigation. "For some time (he informs us) he was very unwilling to allow the propriety of believers' baptism, because it was contrary to the disposition of all those, except one, among whom he laboured, as well as of the most of those with whom he then was or ever had been acquainted. He would therefore gladly have found arguments against it, strong enough to overthrow it. With this view, he read several authors on the contrary side; but met with nothing in them like a scriptural proof of infant baptism: all he met with was mortifying disappointment. Being conscious that he had to do with a heart-searching God, he was determined to act uprightly. He therefore procured the reading of a pamphlet or two written in defence of believers' baptism; and this confirmed him in the sense which he had before put on the scriptures."* He has frequently remarked to the writer of these pages, that Dr. Wall's celebrated History of Infant Baptism contributed more than any other book, except the New Testament, to convince him that it had no foundation in scripture, but was wholly an invention of man.

Having thus obtained satisfaction to his own mind, he resolved, though contrary to the entreaties of his friends, to endeavour to explain and enforce what he believed to be the will of God. If we may judge of his abilities from a piece which he published a few years afterwards, we shall conclude that he was, even at that time, no despicable defender of the truth. John Slater, one of the four who invited him to Wadsworth, was his first convert; if they did not, which is very probable, study the subject together, and advance, with equal steps, towards conviction. Several others, soon afterwards, embraced the same opinion, and anxiously waited for an opportunity to carry their theory into practice. But here a serious difficulty arose. Mr. Taylor, according to his new views of things, was himself an unbaptized person, and thus unqualified to baptize others. He was, therefore, desirous of making a profession of his faith by baptism, not only that he might obey what he esteemed a command of Christ, but also that he might be authorized to administer the ordinance to his friends. For this purpose, he applied to several ministers of the Particular

* See Preface to his Humble Essay on Christian Baptism.

Baptist persuasion; but they all refused to baptize him. They professed themselves perfectly satisfied with the sincerity of his christianity, his qualifications for the ministry, and even with his call to the sacred employment: but they disapproved of his sentiments respecting the extent of the death of Christ. Some said that, as individuals, they could cheerfully have administered the ordinance to him, if their churches would have permitted it; while others frankly declared that scruples of their own prevented them. They all, however, declined a compliance with his request.

In these circumstances, Mr. T. was at a loss how to proceed. He was then young, and little acquainted with the state of religion in the world, or even with the various sects in his native country. He appears to have been equally ignorant of the General Baptists connected with the General Assembly in London, and of the societies which had then recently arisen in the midland counties; and probably thought, that he and his few friends at Wadsworth were the only Baptists in existence who denied the doctrine of personal election. It was therefore very agreeable information which he received from one of the ministers to whom he applied, that there was a Baptist minister and church at Boston, in Lincolnshire, of doctrinal sentiments nearly agreeing with his own. This intelligence was soon communicated to Mr. Slater; and, after some deliberation they determined to set out immediately in quest of these singular professors. The distance, one hundred and twenty miles, was indeed formidable to persons who had never travelled beyond their own neighbourhood; the season, the depth of winter, unfit for such an excursion; and the weather inclement: but the object was in their estimation important, and they braved all difficulties. On Friday morning, February 11, 1763, they set out on foot, and travelled as far as they could during the day. Towards the evening they found themselves in a field surrounded with water; and while they were making ineffectual attempts to extricate themselves, the night closed on them. This obliged them to continue in the open air all night; and they were happy in finding a hay-rick under which they might repose. They commended themselves to the divine protection in earnest prayer; and lying down under this friendly shelter, sunk into a sound sleep. In the morning, they found themselves comfortably refreshed; and, after returning thanks to their heavenly protector, set forwards on their journey,

Towards the evening of the following day, a decent inn presented itself, and they went in to obtain refreshment. Full of the object of their inquiry, their conversation here turned upon it; and they were agreeably surprised, when the landlord informed them, that there was a society of Baptists of their own sentiments at Gamston, a place which they had passed about eight miles; and that a deacon of that church resided in the village in which they then were. To this deacon they went, and introduced themselves as well as they could; stating the object of their journey, and requesting information. Whether their exterior appearance after their late nocturnal accommodations was not very prepossessing, or the person whom they accosted was naturally cautious, he received them coldly, viewed them with an eye of distrust, gave short answers to their enquiries, and pointed them to a public house. Not discouraged with this forbidding reception from the first General Baptist whom they had seen, they returned the following morning to Gamston; and arrived at the meeting house as Mr. Dossey was concluding the service. Mr. T. introduced himself and his companion to that worthy minister; who received them kindly, invited them to his house, and in the evening took them to his colleague, Mr. Jeffery. With these friendly christians, the two succeeding days were spent in giving and receiving information: and the result was, that Messrs. Jeffery and Dossey were perfectly satisfied with the character and faith of the two strangers; and declared their willingness to baptize them both. Mr. Slater however declined, wishing to receive the ordinance from the hands of his esteemed fellow traveller; but Mr. Jeffery baptized Mr. D. Taylor, in the river near Gamston, on Wednesday, February 16, 1763,

Our travellers returned to Wadsworth with their zeal animated and opinions confirmed. Soon after their arrival, Mr. T. with his usual frankness, delivered several public discourses on the subject of believers' baptism; earnestly exhorting his hearers to search the scriptures and judge for themselves; and publicly baptized Mr. Slater and some others. The attention of the country was excited, and strong symptoms of opposition were discovered. But Mr. T. convinced that he was on the side of the truth, despised difficulty; and stood ready, both in public and private, to defend his principles and practice against every attack.

At Gamston, Mr. T. learnt some interesting particulars respecting the old English General Baptists. He was made acquainted with the Lincolnshire Association of Churches of that persuasion; and informed that it would assemble at Lincoln in the ensuing May. Desirous of increasing the acquaintance and strengthening the union which had already been formed, he attended that meeting. Religion was then in a low state in the churches which sent representatives to that assembly; and the acquisition of a zealous young minister, of promising abilities, was an event highly gratifying to all who wished well to its interests. He was therefore kindly received at the association, May 17, 1763; and Mr. G. Boyce, who, as messenger of the churches, presided on that occasion, paid him particular attention. But the most valuable and cordial friend which this visit procured him, was Mr. Wm. Thompson, of Boston, Lincolnshire. They were then both young, zealously engaged in preaching the gospel and entertained similar views of its leading doctrines. A warm attachment to each other was quickly formed; which ripened into a christian friendship that death itself could only suspend. Mr. Thompson took his new friend with him to Boston; and introduced him to several of the General Baptist churches in that neighbourhood. This must have had a happy effect on the mind of our young minister, who had formerly thought himself alone in the earth.

The professors at Wadsworth were then unformed into a regular society. In order to remove this defect, Mr. Taylor prevailed on Mr. Thompson, to accompany him on his return to Yorkshire. This visit was rendered highly useful. The visitor, being an ordained minister, preached for this people, instructed them in the nature of church fellowship, formed them into a duly organized church, and afterwards administered to them the Lord's Supper. The persons who formed this original society were fourteen; but, in three months, eight others were baptized; and several appeared to be under serious impressions. Mr. Taylor was not insensible of his obligations to his friend. He tells him, October 15, 1763, "I think I esteem you the dearest friend that I have on earth, by reason of the sameness of disposition, judgment, &c. and more especially because I am so well persuaded of your experimental knowledge of, and sincere esteem for, the Lord Jesus Christ. O that the Lord would en-

able you and me, my dear brother, to love him more and more. In order to this, let us often be thinking what the Lord has done for us, and how little we have deserved from him. This, if any thing, will break our stubborn hearts. I am glad that you are still my real friend. The Lord grant that nothing may happen between us, that may break our love." In a few months after Mr. Thompson's visit to Yorkshire, Mr. Taylor being unanimously invited by his friends to take the oversight of them, complied with their wishes; and was solemnly ordained to the pastoral office, July 30, 1763. Mr. G. Boyce, the messenger, delivered the charge to the minister, from 1 Tim. iii. 1. "This is a true saying, If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work." Mr. Dossey, of Gamston, addressed the church, from Heb. xiii. 7. "Remember them which have the rule over you."

Probably the ministers who assisted at the ordination might encourage this infant society to attempt to erect a more commodious place of worship; as we find the plan soon after resolved upon, and the ground obtained. In promoting this undertaking, Mr. T. was indefatigable. In the letter to Mr. Thompson already quoted, he observes, "I have been constantly employed, either in digging in the stone pit or collecting money among friends; so that I have had no leisure to write or read much, except when I should have slept. I need not say to you, 'Pray, my brother, that the Lord may prosper the work of my hands.' We have bought the ground, about three hundred yards north-east from Hebden-bridge. We have done a little towards preparing the place; and have bought most of the wood and bargained with the mason. We propose to have the house ten yards in breadth and thirteen in length within; and think that upon the most moderate calculation we cannot build with less than one hundred and forty pounds. How we shall raise it, I know not. I am a little comforted with the thought, that the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass; and he hath done great things for us already." From the same letter, it appears that Mr. T. had made an excursion to collect for the proposed building, in the course of which he had preached thirty-four times; and visited Ashford, in Derbyshire; Sheepshead, Leicester, Earls-hilton, Wimeswould and Knipton in Leicestershire; Kilsby, Longbuckby, Moulton, Northampton, and Burton Latimore in

Northamptonshire; Morcott and Loughnam in Rutlandshire; and Gamston, Retford and Worksop in Nottinghamshire. In this journey, he collected, exclusive of expences, nearly twenty-two pounds. In the middle of October, he went out again, on the same business, under the auspices of Mr. Boyce; and visited most of the General Baptist churches in Lincolnshire. This journey occupied him till December 9. The following day he wrote to his friend Mr. Thompson: "We get well forward with preparing the place for our new meeting house. Blessed be the Lord! I prospered pretty well in my journey, I brought to Wadsworth, besides expences, forty pounds four shillings, and a horse that I hope will make us something." It seems, that his long absence from his charge, had produced its usual effects. In the same letter, he observes: "I found my friends well in body, though not altogether as well as I could wish in soul. One of the persons I baptized, I am ready to doubt of; she I fear is not so earnest as we might wish. The generality of my friends seem very much alive: and are very laborious in doing what they can for Christ's cause. I hope the Lord will own and bless us, though it should be that some forsake us."

This year, 1763, Mr. T. first appeared as an author; and his maiden publication was a poem; a species of composition in which he was not perhaps qualified by nature to excel. The strength of his reasoning powers, and his determination to search for truth, joined to a studied attention to simplicity and accuracy of expression, prevented him from succeeding in works of genius, in which boldness of imagery and pompous diction are expected. This production was an *Elegy on the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth*; a faithful, diligent, zealous, and successful preacher of the gospel; a clergyman of the established church. On his ministry Mr. T. had often attended with profit and pleasure; and frequently walked twelve miles to enjoy the privilege. His death therefore deeply affected him, and he paid a tribute of respect to his memory in these verses, which were printed on a quarter sheet. Though they certainly can boast few of the attractions of the more elevated poesy, yet, considering when they were written, and what small opportunities the author had then enjoyed of acquiring the graces, or even the proprieties of language, they are far from despicable. The concluding lines convey a fair

specimen of the whole; and afford a pleasing idea of the writer's spirit, at this early period.

" His body lies in yonder silent tomb,
Until his Saviour call, ' Arise and come !'
Each atom then the thund'ring voice shall hear,
And mount to meet the Saviour in the air;
Pompous and gay, like Jesus' body made ;
For all the members shall be like their Head ;
And in his glory shall for ever shine.
O ! might that lot, that happy lot, be mine ;
When all the blood-wash'd throng shall jointly sing,
The praises of their ever-glorious King !
My tongue shall then with endless pleasure tell,
What wond'rous grace hath sav'd my soul from hell ;
The loving Saviour's lovely name shall be,
The subject of my song eternally."

1764. In the summer of this year, Mr. T. again visited Lincolnshire; and was engaged, June 24, in opening a new meeting house at Boston, for the use of his friend, Mr. Thompson. With the view of increasing the collection towards his own new meeting house, he extended this excursion to the midland counties: and hearing, for the first time, of the churches which had then recently risen in those parts, he called on Mr. Hutchinson, of Loughborough, one of their leading members. Thus commenced an acquaintance which produced important consequences.

On his return to Yorkshire, he pushed forward the building at Wadsworth, with vigour; and December 12, had the satisfaction to commence public worship in it, with a discourse from 1 Kings ix. 3. It was erected on the declivity of a hill, called *Birchcliff*; about a quarter of a mile from their former place of meeting. During the building of this house, Mr. T. was not only diligently employed in overseeing the workmen, but also daily laboured with his own hands. He had been accustomed to toil, and whatever he undertook, he did it with his whole might. Several parts of the furniture of the old place of worship were removed to the new one; and the pastor actually carried his pulpit on his back from one station to the other.

In November, 1764, Mr. T. married *Elizabeth Saltonstall*, a young woman, whose parents were honest and respectable, in easy though not affluent circumstances. She was one of the first fruits of his ministry in those parts, having joined the church in the former part of the preceding year. This connection was

a blessing to him and the cause in which he was engaged. She was a pious and affectionate partner, and bore him thirteen children. Her prudence and care were very useful in the management of a family, which was often numerous, during the frequent absence of her husband. If his estimate may be allowed, “whether considered as a wife, a friend, or a mistress of a family, she had many valuable qualities; and if she did not possess all the splendid, she had not a few of the solid accomplishments of a most valuable associate.” After her death, he publickly declared that “he deliberately classed her among the best of wives:” an opinion which it is presumed will be sanctioned by those who had the most accurate means of appreciating her real character.

This year, our author published a sermon under the title of “*The Absolute Necessity of Searching the Scriptures.*” This was a duty to which he frequently and earnestly exhorted his hearers; and to the neglect of which he ascribed most of the errors and contentions among christians. To promote this laudable practice, “he had delivered a discourse, in a mixed company, which to his great surprize, he soon found was little understood and less loved.” In order therefore to avoid misrepresentation, he published the substance of what he then delivered in this pamphlet; which, though “he did not suppose it contained any thing worthy the notice of the wise, might perhaps be of some use to the ignorant and teachable.” The method of this tract is natural and clear, the arguments well selected and judiciously stated, and though the style exhibits some inaccuracies and provincialisms, it is generally correct and nervous. The writer has avowedly “studied plainness,” yet there occur some passages of more animation than might be expected. In urging motives, for instance, to enforce the duty of searching the scriptures, he first notices the command of Christ; but instead of stating this in the form of a proposition, he introduces it thus:—“Having thus *explained*, I am, in the second place, to *enforce* the duty recommended in the text, by a few arguments. But what am I now about? What! Enforce by argument what Jesus has commanded! Who could have imagined it necessary? Surely, if he hath said it, it ought, without a moment’s hesitation, to be diligently attended to by all who hear or read it. I called your attention, at the entering upon this discourse, by telling you, ‘The word of God is thus written.’ All scripture is the word of God, being written

by men who were ‘ moved by the Holy Ghost.’ But the text is more directly and emphatically so, ‘ He who made all things, and without whom was not any thing made that was made,’ spoke these words. Spoke them, not when he was upon his high and lofty throne, but when he had ‘ taken upon him the form of a servant, when he was made flesh, and dwelt among us.’ Methinks, I hear every lover of the dear Redeemer say, ‘ I need no other argument. If my Lord hath commanded it, I will, from this day, make it my business, through his gracious assistance, to search the scriptures. Determined am I, through his grace, let friends or foes, let men or devils, say what they will, determined am I, to be led and directed by the scriptures, and by them alone.’” Again, speaking of the natural disposition of men to follow their teachers, he observes, “ The scripture is the touchstone whereby we ought to try every word we hear, every doctrine we receive, every work we are found in the practice of. The Bereans (Oh that every hearer of the word this day would act like them!) are commended as noble, for that they searched the scriptures. Not carelessly looked them over; but *searched* them; scrutinously examined their precise import. ‘ When? a little on the Lord’s day only? Nay, they - searched the scriptures *daily*, to see whether these things were so. What things? Those spoken of by Paul and Silas. But was not this a little too scrupulous? Did it become them to scrutinize into the truth of men who were inspired? Yes. Infinite Wisdom commends it in them as noble.”

1765. The friends at Wadsworth continued their exertions to promote the cause of their Saviour. Conscious of their need of divine assistance, they set apart January 9, 1765, as a day for fasting and prayer; and Mr. T. observes, “ that he hopes they had great humiliation of soul, inflamedness of desire, and resolution.” From the circumstances of the neighbourhood, a rapid increase could not be expected; yet the cause gradually extended itself, and new inquirers, from time to time, attended the means of grace. But, in the beginning of April, this year, the rising interest lost a zealous supporter, and the pastor a most affectionate and prudent associate, by the death of Mr. Slater. This good man had cordially co-operated with Mr. T. in his efforts to promote the spiritual edification of his neighbours, and exerted hi n

self vigorously in forwarding the erection of the new meeting house at Birchcliff. When that design was completed, he observed: "I am now at liberty and free to die, having seen the great thing that I wished to see in this world; a house for the worship of God at Birchcliff." His minister felt the loss severely; and thus notices it in his diary, April 18. "Yesterday we interred the body of my dear brother Slater, who, glory be to the Lord, has been blest with unshaken confidence in God throughout his whole illness. This is matter of support to us under so great a stroke. He was my dear, I believe my dearest friend. The Lord has hereby taught me something of the vanity of every earthly enjoyment. I doubt, I almost idolized him. Lord, pardon me and humble me, and teach me to have all my hopes to centre in thee! I had much liberty in preaching his funeral sermon: blessed be the Lord!"

This afflictive dispensation did not eventually retard the progress of the truth. Mr. Slater's happy death attracted the attention of the neighbours, and the prudent conduct of his associates gained their respect and confidence. April 26, Mr. T. remarks: "To day I have been collecting subscriptions towards our meeting house, and blessed be the Lord, have prospered well. Friends are very free, even those whom I least expected to be so. When shall I learn to be more thankful?"

May 10, Mr. T. set out for the Lincolnshire Association; and, on the following Lord's day, preached three times at Boston. On the 21st he arrived at Lincoln; and was deputed by the Association as their representative to the General Assembly in London. He was the bearer of certain queries respecting subscriptions to the articles of the Church of England, in order to obtain a licence to preach. Many of these ministers disapproved of this practice, esteeming it a sinful compliance with an unjust imposition; and wished their denomination to make a stand against it. They esteemed the business important; and their choice of the subject of this memoir for their deputy, who was so young and with whom they had so recently formed an acquaintance, is a strong evidence of the high estimation in which they held his talents and character.

May 26, he preached twice at Boston, and thence proceeded to London, where, on the 29th, he attended the General Assembly. On the following Lord's day, June 2, he preached

twice for Mr. Brittain, to that church of which he was afterwards pastor, and once for Mr. Fry of Horslydown. He returned by way of Lincolnshire; and preaching twice at Fleet, thrice at Wablet, once at Wisbeach, once at Toft, twice at Boston, and once at Coningsby, arrived at home June 17. This appears to have been his first visit to the metropolis.

When Mr. T. at first united with the Lincolnshire General Baptists, he probably was but very imperfectly acquainted with their doctrinal sentiments. Possibly he made no rigid inquiry on the subject: but, standing alone as he then did in Yorkshire, united himself with eagerness to a body of christians, several of whom were highly respectable. But it soon appeared, that a wide difference subsisted between his views, on some important points of doctrine, and those of many of his new associates. During the present year this painful fact became very apparent. In his late journey, he stopped to preach at Gamston, May 19: and observes in his diary: "We had long contests about original sin, justification, atonement, &c. but how far do we differ in judgment with respect to all these things! What can be done? Lord, teach thou me!" In the course of his excursion, this difference occasioned much debate and warmth. The worthy Mr. G. Boyce, who, as the messenger of these churches, felt himself called upon to preserve their harmony and purity, thought it necessary that some endeavours should be used to promote a better understanding. He therefore appointed to meet Mr. T. at Gamston, in the ensuing August, freely to discuss the controverted points. In order to prepare for this important interview, it was mutually agreed to devote some part of the 5th day of August to solemn prayer and fasting for the blessing of the Father of lights on their conference. With what seriousness Mr. T. prepared for this meeting, appears from the memorandum in his diary at the above date. "I and my great and good friend Mr. B. are erelong to meet at Gamston, to talk upon some points wherein we differ; and we agreed to set apart as much of this day as circumstances permit for fasting and prayer that the Lord may direct us; that our beginning, proceeding, and ending may be in love, and under the direction of his Holy Spirit; that our minds may be enlightened, our understandings enlarged; that we may know and receive the whole truth as it is in Jesus. Because I have not much time to spare from my study this day,

duties of the great work in which it was engaged. No young minister can read it without being really benefitted by the perusal. Though some of his charges at seasons of ordination, several of which were afterwards published, may be thought to supersede some parts of this tract, yet none of his subsequent publications take so comprehensive a view of the duties, and especially of the qualifications, of a christian minister. Probably too this address will not be the less useful and interesting to persons setting out in the sacred work, as being the production of a young man like themselves, who spoke out of the abundance of the heart, felt all the difficulties which he describes, panted after all the excellencies which he recommends to others, and sincerely laboured to follow those advices which he offers to his fellow labourers. It has been long out of print; but it would be an injury to religion to suffer it to fall into oblivion.

The preacher on this occasion, when he had concluded the principal subject of his discourse, added an address to Christians in general, founded on *Isaiah xl. 31*, “They that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength.” This address was at first published with the other part of the sermon; but it afterwards appeared in a separate form, and was entitled, “*The Weak Christian encouraged to wait upon God; with some Directions.*” It forms a very useful little piece; containing important instructions how to wait on God, in prayer, in reading and hearing the word, and in holy meditation; with earnest exhortations and powerful motives to the constant, humble, expecting and confident exercise of these sacred duties.

Mr. T. returned from the association, at which this discourse was delivered, through the counties of Nottingham and Derby, with a design most probably of cultivating his acquaintance with the midland churches. This excursion occupied a fortnight, in the course of which he preached ten times, and arrived at home, May 17. In the latter part of the year, he took a journey into the same parts, which employed nineteen days.

We have no information respecting the progress of the cause at Wadsworth during this year, or the following; only that it appears to have been in a state of improvement. Nor have we been able to trace the labours of the pastor, except that we find him at the Lincolnshire Association, at Coningsby, June 2, 1767; from whence he went to the General Assembly in London, as

the substitute for Mr. Thompson who had been deputed to that service. He returned to Wadsworth, June 20; and set out again in October on his usual tour through the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby. In both these journeys, he preached frequently and had encouraging proofs that his labours were acceptable and useful. December 16, he baptized three persons at Wadsworth; and soon after left home again to visit the churches.

1768. This year opened with a severe domestic affliction. The small pox, a disorder peculiarly fatal to his family, seized both his children, and great danger was apprehended. Mr. T. who, as we have seen, was abroad on a journey, was immediately sent for home; but, before his arrival, January 7, his daughter, a fine girl of upwards of three years of age, had just expired; and his son, almost two years old, died in two days afterwards. This was a severe trial, especially as he had then no other children. He felt it keenly; but acquiesced in the painful dispensation. The following observations in his diary on this melancholy occasion, exhibit a pleasing view of the state of his mind. "January 10. I am now returned from a long journey, and find my dear, dear little daughter dead, and my son near dying. He expired about fifty hours after my arrival at home. So now I am left childless. This is indeed a heavy stroke; but I suppose the infinitely wise and good Lord sees that I stand in need of heavy strokes in order to bring my rebellious mind into subjection to his blessed self. Lord, work for thine own honour the way thou seest best. But O! suffer me not to disregard the operations of thine hands. In much mercy be thou pleased, glorious Jehovah, to make me submissive and obedient. Lord, thy will be done in, upon, and by me, in all things!"

The same cruel disorder, which had snatched away the two children of this pious minister, had removed many others from the neighbouring families, and not a few from those of his friends. To support himself and his fellow sufferers in these trying scenes, he delivered two appropriate discourses, from 2 Kings iv. 26; the resigned answer of the bereaved Shunamite, respecting her deceased son, "It is well." The substance of these discourses were afterwards published under the title of "*The Mourning Parent comforted.*" The object of this publication is thus ex-

duties of the great work in which it was engaged. No young minister can read it without being really benefitted by the perusal. Though some of his charges at seasons of ordination, several of which were afterwards published, may be thought to supercede some parts of this tract, yet none of his subsequent publications take so comprehensive a view of the duties, and especially of the qualifications, of a christian minister. Probably too this address will not be the less useful and interesting to persons setting out in the sacred work, as being the production of a young man like themselves, who spoke out of the abundance of the heart, felt all the difficulties which he describes, panted after all the excellencies which he recommends to others, and sincerely laboured to follow those advices which he offers to his fellow labourers. It has been long out of print; but it would be an injury to religion to suffer it to fall into oblivion.

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We have no information respecting the progress of the cause at Wadsworth during this year, or the following; only that it appears to have been in a state of improvement. Nor have we been able to trace the labours of the pastor, except that we find him at the Lincolnshire Association, at Coningsby, June 2, 1767; from whence he went to the General Assembly in London, as

the substitute for Mr. Thompson who had been deputed to that service. He returned to Wadsworth, June 20; and set out again in October on his usual tour through the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby. In both these journeys, he preached frequently and had encouraging proofs that his labours were acceptable and useful. December 16, he baptized three persons at Wadsworth; and soon after left home again to visit the churches.

1768. This year opened with a severe domestic affliction. The small pox, a disorder peculiarly fatal to his family, seized both his children, and great danger was apprehended. Mr. T. who, as we have seen, was abroad on a journey, was immediately sent for home; but, before his arrival, January 7, his daughter, a fine girl of upwards of three years of age, had just expired; and his son, almost two years old, died in two days afterwards. This was a severe trial, especially as he had then no other children. He felt it keenly; but acquiesced in the painful dispensation. The following observations in his diary on this melancholy occasion, exhibit a pleasing view of the state of his mind. “January 10. I am now returned from a long journey, and find my dear, dear little daughter dead, and my son near dying. He expired about fifty hours after my arrival at home. So now I am left childless. This is indeed a heavy stroke; but I suppose the infinitely wise and good Lord sees that I stand in need of heavy strokes in order to bring my rebellious mind into subjection to his blessed self. Lord, work for thine own honour the way thou seest best. But O! suffer me not to disregard the operations of thine hands. In much mercy be thou pleased, glorious Jehovah, to make me submissive and obedient. Lord, thy will be done in, upon, and by me, in all things!”

The same cruel disorder, which had snatched away the two children of this pious minister, had removed many others from the neighbouring families, and not a few from those of his friends. To support himself and his fellow sufferers in these trying scenes, he delivered two appropriate discourses, from 2 Kings iv. 26; the resigned answer of the bereaved Shunamite, respecting her deceased son, “It is well.” The substance of these discourses were afterwards published under the title of “*The Mourning Parent comforted.*” The object of this publication is thus ex-

plained by the author.—“ As I in some measure know the worth of these meditations myself, and am unacquainted with any thing on the same or a similar subject easily to be bought and read by the poor for whom I chiefly write, I hope it will be esteemed rather a piece of service, proceeding from real love to other distressed parents and sympathy with them, than the effect of ostentation. I publish them with the same views with which I preached them: 1, to support bereaved parents under their troubles; 2, to prepare others for troubles of the like sort; and 3, to assist all God’s people in the necessary and useful duty of comforting one another.” These are plain, experimental and useful discourses; well adapted to answer the valuable purposes for which they were designed. The feelings of the tender parent and resigned believer are apparent throughout; and, in some instances, there are strokes of natural eloquence peculiarly affecting. It is impossible to read the dying soliloquy of a pious parent over a profligate child without partaking the agony that it describes. “I am going,” says the christian parent, “to be happy with my God, and my Saviour, in the realms of bliss: to take my place in that glorious kingdom, to wear that crown, and enjoy that felicity, which are not the reward of my own obedience, that hath always been imperfect, and the best part of it no better than filthy rags: but, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. But O! how it tears my heart, to reflect upon the case of an impenitent son whom I am leaving in the world. He has lived to this day, and has never yet savingly known the God that made him! and now I am going to leave him: I can no longer admonish, advise, or pray for him. But soon his disembodied spirit must follow mine into eternity, must stand before that God of whom he is now ignorant and negligent; yea, against whom, he now rebels. Who can bear the thought of the anguish he must then feel, and the woe, to which he shall be consigned? And there is an after-day, still more awful: when all that are in their graves, when all the dead, both small and great, shall be caused to stand before God, and the books shall be opened, and the dead shall be judged out of those things that are written in the books, according to their works. Methinks I see, amongst the rising multitudes, my own unconverted child. He arises from the grave, compelled to it by the resistless energy of the Omnipotent’s awful voice. His distracted heart is filled with

the most racking agonies, and all the symptoms of ghastly despair are manifest in his pale looks. The crush of the hugest mountains, to grind his revived bones to powder, the jaws of the fiercest lion to shatter in pieces his reanimated body, any thing to screen him from the wrath of God, and the Lamb, would now be welcome, be delightful to him. But no such favour is allowed. He is compelled to appear; he is examined; he is judged; he is condemned. The dreadful sentence; ‘ Depart thou cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels,’ is denounced, is executed. The bottomless the flaming pit, opens; and my wretched son sinks into flames unquenchable; and there is consigned to welter, without reprieve, without hope, through never ending ages.”

This awakening visitation seems to have excited the pious parent to greater zeal and exertion in his sacred work, and his efforts were not in vain. The congregations at Birchcliff were numerous, frequently overflowing, and many were affected by the word. A house was this summer built for his residence adjoining the meeting-house to which he removed in November. The erection of this house occupied his time and attention, and probably detained him from the Lincolnshire Association; as we do not find his signature to the minutes of that assembly. He took possession of his new dwelling with much satisfaction, on November the 10th. He observes, “I have been removing the place of my habitation, which has been matter of labour and discomposure; but blessed be the Lord, I trust he has enabled me to watch over my heart. I am now much more agreeably fixed. O! that the blessed God may enable me to love him more and to glorify him more, for and with all my blessings and advantages.” Those who have seen the edifice for which this good man is so grateful, will not, it is presumed, accuse him of wishing to exalt his gate, or of seeking great things for himself.

At the close of this year, he took an excursion of a fortnight into Lincolnshire, and as usual preached frequently. His friend Mr. Thompson accompanied him on his return to Wadsworth, and spent there a few happy and useful days.

In the beginning of this year, Mr. T. published his first polemical work. It was, “*An humble Essay on Christian Baptism, offered to the consideration of upright Inquirers concerning the Subjects and proper Mode of administering this Ordinance.*”

Contrary to his usual practice, he did not affix his name to this piece. Several publications on this subject had then recently appeared, in which the defenders of believers' baptism by immersion were roughly handled and held up as objects of contempt. To check this ill-timed triumph our author yielded to the solicitations of his friends, and printed this Essay. Its design is well explained in the opening of the work. “ It may be allowed,” says the writer, “ that very much cannot well be said more than has before been said on this subject; yet it is hoped that could a few thoughts, in easy language, suited to the capacities of common readers, be once more offered to view, it might, under the blessing of God, have a happy tendency to discover the error of those vain persons, who, alas! delight in reproaching what they know little of; to satisfy some inquiring souls, and establish some weak minds, with regard to this ordinance. With this view, the following remarks are humbly and in the spirit of meekness submitted to consideration.” “ The chief request the author would make to the reader is, that he would impartially examine the *scriptures* with regard to the ordinance of baptism, and regard this pamphlet as far as it will be found consistent with them; but *no farther*. He has long thought, and still thinks, that would every one, according to his ability, act thus, and not take things from others without examination, it would greatly tend to the promotion both of truth and peace. And, O! what would we not give, what would we not suffer to promote these?”

In conformity with these views, the writer states with brevity, plainness and force, the arguments for immersion built upon scripture; and examines at large the objections drawn from the sacred volume. But, though he rests on revelation as the only foundation of a positive institution, yet he considers the pleas for immersion and sprinkling drawn from antiquity, decency, and the practice of the great body of christians. This he does, “ for the sake of some who seem to think, that the practice of immersion was but lately become usual, whereas the truth is, it hath but lately been laid aside.” On the proper *subjects* of baptism, he pursues a similar plan: first insisting pretty largely on the commission of our Saviour, and the precepts and examples of the New Testament, and then considering the arguments for infant baptism founded on circumcision, the baptizing of Jewish converts, the practice of antiquity, &c. the work concludes with

"Remarks on some passages of the Fathers," designed to prove, that there is no trace of infant baptism during the two first centuries of christianity.

This pamphlet exhibits great acquaintance with the subject, and considerable abilities in controversy. Its principal excellencies are perspicuity and force. More learning indeed is displayed, than could have been expected from the opportunities of the author; several of the Fathers are quoted in their original languages: and now and then a critical disquisition respecting the signification of a Greek or Hebrew term is introduced. This erudition is however confined, with much propriety, to the notes. The Essay was well received; and the first impression sold off soon after its publication.

1769. This was a year of peculiar labour and success. Mr. T. preached diligently, not only in his own meeting house but in the dwelling houses of his friends, frequently at some distance from Wadsworth. His exertions were abundantly blessed by his divine Master. Twenty persons were added to the church in the course of the year; and the congregations were so numerous that it became necessary to erect a gallery for their accommodation.

Mr. T. was now in a feeble state of health. For some weeks previous to June 12, he had been nearly laid aside from his sacred work: and about that time, returning in a heavy rain from preaching at a distance brought on a severe cold which long afflicted him. It does not appear, that he was obliged wholly to suspend his ministerial labours; and these indispositions had a happy effect in animating him to greater diligence and circumspection.

The difference of sentiments between Mr. T. and his Lincolnshire friends, continued to produce disputes. This year, at the Association held in Lincoln, May 9, at which Mr. T. was present, the contentions ran so high, that a division seemed highly expedient. Our minister had sedulously cultivated an acquaintance with the midland General Baptists, and had found them strenuous advocates for what he esteemed the essential truths of the gospel. It was therefore natural for him to wish for a closer union with professors whose sentiments he so cordially approved. He proposed that they should unite with the churches in Lin-

colnshire; but to this they decidedly objected, because they esteemed several of them highly erroneous in their creed. They even went farther and declared it to be the duty of all who maintained the truth, to have no fellowship with such as had so grossly fallen from it. These remarks had considerable effect on the ingenuous mind of the subject of these memoirs; and he, in conjunction with his friend, Mr. Thompson, resolved to leave their former associates, and endeavour to form a new union with their midland brethren. In order to accomplish this design, a preparatory meeting was held, at Lincoln, about Michaelmas, this year: when Mr. Taylor and Mr. Thompson were met by Mr. F. Smith of Melbourn, Mr. J. Grimley of Loughborough, Mr. N. Pickering of Castle Donington, and several other leading men in the midland churches. At this Conference the plan was laid for the formation of the *New Connection of General Baptists*, which, as we shall soon see, was successfully carried into effect in the succeeding year.

Having thus followed Mr. Taylor through the first period of his life, we shall close this section with a few hints that could not properly be introduced under any distinct year.

We have already seen, that the country in which this active minister had fixed his residence was, when he settled there, excessively wild and ignorant. His exertions to spread the light of knowledge and especially of the scriptures among its dark and depraved inhabitants were almost incredible. He did not confine his attention to Wadsworth, nor his labours to the meeting house, but went out on all sides to a considerable distance to preach on the evenings of the Lord's day and frequently on the week days. In the expressive language of one of his contemporaries, who had good opportunity of observing his conduct: "Mr. D. Taylor laboured hard, not only on the Lord's day when it was common with him to preach three times; the third at a considerable distance, in a wild country, the inhabitants of which were hardly civilized and generally great strangers to religion. But, by the blessing of God on his Lord's day evening and week day labours, many were brought to repentance; an honourable change took place in their behaviour; several meetings for prayer and christian conference were established around the country; and the improvement was so evident that intelligent observers

could not but allow the propriety of applying to the place and its inhabitants, ‘The Lord hath done great things for them;’ and many would have gratefully replied, ‘The Lord hath done great things for *us*, of which we are glad.’” Mr. T’s excursions on this benevolent errand often extended to places at six or eight or even ten or twelve miles from Wadsworth. His exertions laid the foundation for the raising of churches in various places; but, as this effect did not take place till the ensuing period, we defer particulars to the next chapter.

In the year 1764, Mr. T. obtained a valuable co-adjutor in these laudable attempts, Mr. afterwards Dr. Fawcett then accepted the office of pastor over the Particular Baptist church at Wainsgate, a village in the vicinity of Birchcliff, and fixed his residence at that place. A congenial taste for literature and equal zeal for religion soon produced an intimacy between these two ministers, which, notwithstanding their difference of sentiments on points of doctrine, ripened into a friendship that was never interrupted through the course of their long lives. They cordially co-operated in their attempts for the good of their neighbours; and frequently consulted on the best means of improving their character. Among other schemes for this purpose, in the beginning of 1769, they united their influence in the establishing of a *Book Society*, on a general plan, at Heptonstall. In reference to this institution Mr. T. observes in his diary, January 29, 1769, “To-day, several of us have been engaged in establishing a circulating society. May it be of real use: and may the blessed God enable me more simply and sincerely to seek his glory in all things I do.” These prayers were answered: the society was very useful in carrying forward the improvement in the manners and knowledge of the inhabitants, and gave rise to many similar institutions in adjacent neighbourhoods. The pious and intelligent ministers who formed the plan, were careful to secure a selection of books proper for general reading; which chiefly consisted of works on divinity, biography, travels, &c. and took frequent opportunities of instructing their friends in the most beneficial mode of using them. Some time after the formation of this institution, Mr. T. delivered a discourse to the members upon “the Uses to be made of Knowledge.”

But this good understanding between the pastors did not prevent their flocks from occasional squabbles. They would some-

times contend respecting the points on which they differed; and it seems that their contentions had produced quarrels. Their pious pastors observed with deep regret the interruption of harmony which these debates occasioned, and the injury which vital and personal religion sustained from them; and mutually agreed, that each would preach against them, on July 9, 1769. This they did: and Mr. T. observes, "From what has been represented to me, both discourses took good effect, and will be succeeded as instrumental in making peace;" adding, with evident sincerity of gratitude, "Glory be to God for all mercies; but especially for so good-natured and peaceable a neighbour as Mr. Fawcett!"

When Divine Providence had separated these good men, they maintained a friendly correspondence, and communicated to each other their literary productions. Mr. T. seldom visited Yorkshire without contriving, amidst all his other engagements, to find leisure to preach at least once for his friend, Dr. Fawcett. The writer of these Memoirs will not easily forget the satisfaction both parties evinced on spending a day together, in 1814, when the Association was at Birchcliff. The Doctor survived his friend little more than eight months; dying, July 25, 1817, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

These worthy men had a common friend in the Rev. H. Foster, afterwards a very celebrated divine of the established church. This gentleman was a native of those parts, and then a student at Oxford. When he came into the country to spend his vacations, he contracted a friendship for Messrs. Fawcett and Taylor. These three young men were in the habit of meeting regularly, three or four times in the week, either at Mr. Fawcett's or Mr. Taylor's, to improve their knowledge of divinity, read the classics and cultivate other branches of learning. These friendly conferences were doubtless highly advantageous to all parties: the young Oxonian being able to assist his self-instructed friends in their philological pursuits; while they, having been longer engaged in the affairs of religion and the work of the ministry, would "expound to him the way of God more perfectly." Messrs. Taylor and Foster were afterwards both settled in London; and maintained their friendship till the death of the latter, who departed this life, May 26, 1814; aged sixty-nine years.

It has already been mentioned, that, during this period, the

subject of these pages kept a school. It was indeed in its infancy, and consisted chiefly of young children of both sexes. The frequent absence of the master on his religious engagements probably prevented its rapid increase; and it appears to have been conducted nearly in the manner that is usual in schools of that class. He experienced the painful discouragements of which every conscientious schoolmaster is too sensible, and often, in his diary, complains of “ trials from stubborn boys;” but doubtless he frequently tasted that sincere pleasure which a mind like his would enjoy in beholding his efforts for the good of his pupils crowned with success. One method which he adopted for this purpose ought to be recorded for the imitation of others. When the business of the day was finished, he prayed with the children before he dismissed them; and gave them a subject to think of or consult their friends upon, and to bring him an answer next morning. The subjects were generally of a religious nature; such as “ What does such a passage of scripture mean?” What is the signification of this expression in the Lord’s prayer, “ Hallowed be thy name?” It is obvious how much this method would tend to fix their attention, exercise their intellectual powers, and enlarge their stock of knowledge.

The various avocations of Mr. T. rendered it necessary that he should have an assistant, who could be always in the school and supply his place. During part of the period now under review, this station was occupied by Mr. G. Birley, who afterwards settled at St. Ives, as the pastor of the General Baptist church in that town; and for many years conducted, with ability and success, a respectable boarding school. As that gentleman is still living, it would be indecorous to expatiate on this part of our subject; but justice requires that a biographer of Mr. D. Taylor should record that esteem and affection which mutually existed between these two ministers, during the future part of their lives; and the veneration and tender respect with which the survivor cherishes the memory of his deceased friend. The most unequivocal proofs of reciprocal attachment will abound in the course of these Memoirs. Mr. B. resided at Birchcliff from August 1765 to March 1768.

Soon after Mr. B. left Yorkshire, the subject of these pages was occasionally assisted in his school by Mr. J. Sutcliff, to whom he taught the rudiments of the latin language; and was

useful in the concerns of religion. Mr. S. joined Mr. Fawcett's church in his youth, and from thence was sent to pursue his studies at Bristol Academy. For many years, he presided with much reputation over the Particular Baptist Society at Olney, and was the zealous co-adjutor of Mr. Fuller in his missionary labours. Mr. T. corresponded with this young friend while at the academy; and encouraged him to a steady pursuit of the noblest objects. In after life, when his journeys led him within reach of Olney, he seldom failed to visit his former assistant; and frequently, in his letters, speaks of “passing sweet and useful hours with his excellent friend, Mr. S.” When the latter visited London he usually called on Mr. T.; and once, if not oftener, preached for him at Church-lane. This valuable man died, June 22, 1814.

We cannot close this section without one reflection, which has constantly forced itself upon us in tracing the transactions of this period. There must certainly have been something truly excellent and amiable in the character of a man, who thus attracted the attention and secured the friendship of the wise and good of all parties with whom he had intercourse.

Towards the close of this period or in the beginning of the next, our author published “*Rules and Observations for the Enjoyment of Health and Long Life*; extracted from the celebrated Dr. Cheyne's Essay on Health and Long Life.” His motives for stepping into a subject so foreign to his professional pursuits are thus explained:—“Dr. Cheyne's Essay is, in my humble opinion, a book which ought to have a place in every family. But as the book is scarce, the philosophical reasonings abstruse; and the technical phrases peculiar to the art of medicine, I imagined a small extract from it might be very profitable to those who have neither much money to lay out, nor time nor capacity to read some parts of the essay itself. I have therefore ventured to throw these few pages among the lower ranks of my poor fellow-creatures; with an ardent wish, that, through the blessing of God, they may be restrained from those excesses and irregularities which are, at once, so fatal in their consequences both to body and soul.” Though this pamphlet is thus professedly designed for the use of those in the lower ranks of life, yet many of the observations refer to the studious, the sedentary and the luxurious; characters not so frequently found in that class of society. We presume not to examine the truth of the observa-

tions or propriety of the rules; but doubtless the good Doctor's opinions were recommended to our zealous baptist by his praises of cold-bathing, and his recognition of immersion as the ancient and proper mode of baptizing.

SECTION II. *Mr. Taylor's progress in personal religion and fitness for the ministerial and pastoral duties, during the first ten years of his public labours; illustrated by Extracts from his Diary.*

As it was during the first years of Mr. T's. ministry, that the foundation of his future eminence and usefulness was laid, it will be interesting and instructive to trace his progress and the means which his heavenly Father adopted to prepare him for his service. We are happy in possessing a Diary which he kept at that time, which will enable us to make this attempt with more success. Though it was evidently never intended to meet the eye of the public, yet it contains such a genuine picture of the exercises of his soul, and abounds with so many lessons of admonition and instruction, that we are persuaded no apology is necessary for inserting liberal extracts from it. We expect that many will esteem them the most interesting part of the volume.

The root of all religious excellence, whether as private christians or ministers, being personal piety, we shall, in the first place, select some passages illustrative of his great care to promote the growth of grace in his own soul. These will afford abundant evidence—how carefully he watched over his temper and conduct—with what severity he marked his imperfections and errors before his Maker in secret—with what earnestness he sought for pardon and grace—with what sacred jealousy he noted the first workings of those sinful depravities to which his natural constitution or the circumstances in which he was called to act peculiarly exposed him—how frequently and how scrupulously he examined his evidence of an interest in Christ and advance in divine life—how assiduously he laboured to correct every thing in which he thought himself defective—and how anxious he was to extract lessons of correction and improvement from his own failings. These extracts will, it is presumed, afford

useful admonition and support to conscientious christians in similar circumstances. Nor will the doubts and fears that at times overclouded this good man's prospects and drove him to the borders of despair, be without their advantage; especially when connected with the means by which he was enabled to regain the enjoyment of peace and joy in believing.

" August 3, 1764. This morning, I had a happy submissive frame. I have lately had some struggles with a proud spirit, which led me to wish almost that others might not prosper in the labours of preaching. I think I have gotten over it in some good degree; yet I am afraid that it is only for fear of some judgment from God, not simply out of love to him, his cause, and work. O cursed deceitful heart!"

" — 28. This day, I am convinced of my too-much self indulgence as well as omission of duty. I see in myself much inactivity of mind, and dullness and deadness of soul. I wish to see more of my emptiness and unworthiness. O proud heart! This afternoon my mind was much stirred up to be more earnest with God. I think I saw that I had some humility; but O! how little!"

" — 29. This morning I indulged myself too long in bed, which brought some guilt on my mind. I see the devil uses all means to prevent me from cleaving to the Lord."

" — 31. I have this day tried myself by some of the marks of the reality of faith, laid down by Mr. Erskine; which has been profitable; they being I hope found in me. I have been taught the necessity of getting a clear evidence, and of pressing this necessity on others: seeing without it we cannot, with confidence, claim the promises."

" September 3. Reflecting on some inadvertent steps which I had taken, I was led to think, that the Lord is pleased sometimes to permit us to take such steps, in order that we may reflect upon them and be humbled under our folly."

" — 8. This evening, I have had to speak to J. A. about neglecting family prayer. I found myself much perplexed in the case. Oh! what an ignorant creature am I! and what a great work is the ministry! This evening, I have been much oppressed with guilt, darkness of mind and fear; yet upon the whole I think I have, though in a small degree, the marks of God's child.

O! how glad I am, at such seasons, to lay hold of a little evidence! to have a place though the lowest! I am too remiss: Lord, quicken me! O what spiritual pride, what self-sufficiency do I feel in my heart!"

" Sep. 9. This morning, my mind is still sensible of guilt and fear; nor can I get deliverance from it. I find my soul much disarmed and disabled; cannot apply the promises, except Matt. v. 6, which has been of some use to me. Bless the Lord! I, this morning, in the name, strength and awful presence of God, determine to be more watchful and live more devoted to God. Lord, be my helper!"

" —— 15. This day I have been much filled with doubts and scruples of mind; have read Mr. Venn on Repentance, and I think, I find something of it in me; yet cannot get above doubt. I have thought to-day that one proof of a truly upright soul is, that he will do every thing, in secret as well as openly, which he thinks will tend to his soul's good or redound to God's glory. Lord, help me! I have not been so watchful over my tongue as I should have been. To-day I have learnt, 1. That when christians meet they should beware their discourse does not turn on trifles. 2, That they make not too free with the names of others. O what deceitfulness and pride have I seen in my heart to day! 3, When together they should beware of lightness."

" —— 16. This day, I have been much perplexed with doubt as to my state. I think I have some reason to believe that the devil has a hand in it, especially on a Saturday (a day in which I am often much beset with it) in order to keep me from fixing on the work of the study as I ought."

" —— 18. This afternoon I have been made sensible that I am really under a declension of soul. I am much in darkness, and see a vile wicked heart. I have little evidence of grace; yet I have been trying my repentance again by Mr. Venn's marks, and hope that I am not wholly destitute. I here and now freely acknowledge the divine goodness in withholding comfort from me, and shewing me my barrenness. O that I may never rest till my soul is more alive to God and my evidence clearer! I now, through divine grace, surrender myself into his hands. May I never more serve myself, but earnestly, steadily, heartily seek his glory; and leave it to his infinite wisdom to dispose of me, as to comforts, as he pleaseth. Lord, help!"

“ Sep. 25. This morning, my doubts returned, and my mind was restless, so that I could not well sleep. I arose soon, felt submission, some degree of fervour in prayer and an earnest desire that the Lord would search and try my reins and my heart. Read Dr. Doddridge’s and Mr. Bunyan’s marks of grace; and think, after self-examination, that I am possessed of them; yet find no power to rest satisfied, no clear evidence of my interest in Christ. My former sins are presented to my view in all their abominableness. I perceive, not that I feel terror of mind, but I hope some degree of humility; and can well justify God should he condemn me. I feel an earnest desire to devote myself to God for the future, though he never shine on me more. I fear to fall into sin again should my life be continued; and have this forenoon felt a wish rather to die now. O that, from this moment, my all may be the Lord’s. I think I have this day learnt, that a truly humbled sinner will rather bear his trouble than have it falsely taken away; and desires it may be laid on severely and kept on continually, till taken away by Christ’s blood eyed by faith. I feel a desire and some power to bless God for troubling my conscience for my sins. O may it be continued and increase as he pleases, till it bring me to his sovereign feet for grace and mercy, and strip me of self and pride! This afternoon I have read Bunyan on the way whereby a sinner is brought to God; and find that it agrees with my own experience. Glory be to God! O may I henceforth serve him with all my heart. May sin, which so often fills my mind with darkness, never more have dominion over me! Yet even this evening my heart was full of proud and light thoughts. But I trust I received some strength to withstand them; and was humbled for them in prayer.”

“ December 8. To-day, by the desire of vain glory, which has too much place in me, I see how difficult it is to perform good works, whether of piety towards God, charity towards men, or temperance to myself, without making it appear to the world. To deliver me from this spirit, Lord, work in me a stronger love to thee, a greater sense of my unworthiness, and more clear and believing views of eternity. Matt. vi. 16—19. Lord give me Mr. Henry’s seriousness, zeal and courage.”

“ — 16. This morning I am sensible of two things wherein I am faulty, in which, through divine grace I determine to amend. 1, I watch not, as I ought, over my heart.—Prov,

iv. 23. 2, I am not so diligent and careful, as I ought to be, in the duty of self-examination.—2 Cor. xiii. 6."

" Dec. 31. This evening, being despised, as I thought, by a young man of note, by whom I have formerly been esteemed, my pride discovered itself in an extraordinary manner. I think, it was matter of humiliation to me afterwards. I pray for humility; but would have the Lord humble me my own way, by love. Lord, make me willing to be humbled thy way, though by thy rod."

" February 10, 1765. This morning, taking a walk out for meditation, I think I had a very clear sight of the goodness of God in keeping me in a low, mean condition. Self and pride are very strong in me. Lord humble me and make me willing to be humbled thine own way!"

" —— 27. This evening, having to preach at J. H's, being in a good frame and encouraged by seeing how many come to hear the word, how strong did spiritual pride work; but glory be to God! I was enabled to strive and pray against it. I had much liberty in preaching from Psalm lv. 22. After preaching I felt the workings of the same evil. Even in telling some of my experiences and trials to a few friends, I felt a secret rising of pride that I had these to tell of. Deceitful heart! Who could have thought it?"

" April 1. Through the divine aid of the blessed God, I resolve and engage this day to set myself, and all my powers, to oppose the sin of pride, and every thing which I think has a tendency to promote, strengthen or encourage it, in thought, word or deed. Lord, be my helper." " I have lately observed several peevish tempers in me, which led me to resolve on things imprudently; and which, if I had had an opportunity of executing them, would have been hurtful. Whence I learn the necessity of being aware of this temper; and if I find it gets place in me, to withdraw immediately, and if possible, speak of nothing till I can think and speak more sedately. Lord, help!"

" March 4. This morning perceiving in myself, as I thought, something which has been in some of my relations, as symptoms of approaching death, I was called to rejoice, thinking that I was perhaps near my end. I think, if the Lord will, I should be glad to do somewhat more for him; but I find nothing of weight with me to give me reluctance to dying, but the present

state of my brethren; and the Lord can provide. I love my wife, but God can provide for her too!"

" April 4. I have had much awakening of mind by reading a letter written by a minister—visiting a sick person—talking with friends. The Lord's name be praised! But I was condemned in my mind for making too free with the name of another. How often do I resolve against this sin. Lord, humble and pardon!"

" — 10. O what carelessness, deadness and backwardness to prayer. Lord, humble and quicken me! This day, I again resolve, through divine aid, (but oh! how little do I keep my resolutions. Lord, enable me to keep them better!) to watch and fight against pride, that darling, though great and abominable sin: to watch against it in all its appearances, and whatever leads to it, as being grievous to God, quenching to the spirit, and most pernicious to the soul. Lord, help me! O deceitful heart! O vain creature! What have I to be proud of? Nought but sin."

" May 10. To-day we have had a day of fasting and prayer; and I believe not without some humblings and quickenings of soul. I hope, I have endeavoured to examine myself; and oh! what deadness of affection! what pride! what trifling in prayer! how little zeal for God! how much of what I should not, and how little of what I should feel within me! Lord humble and pardon me, and enable me more fully to give up myself to thee. I thank the Lord, I have reason to believe that my brethren are pretty lively."

" July 16. To-day my darkness has continued. I have examined myself by Wilkie's and Doddridge's Thoughts of Grace; and have found some evidence, I trust, of its being wrought in me; but could not still take the satisfaction my soul desired. I have met with singular advantage in reading Doddridge's Rise and Progress, chap. 24. The Lord be blest for such books; but especially the precious bible. I have sometimes thought of, and been ready to compare myself with Francis Spira. At others, I have been ready to say with Job, ' Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him;' resolved, if I perish, to perish at his feet.' This evening I had some profitable conversation with sister S—who informed me, that the great and gracious Mr. F. was lately in the same case. The Lord be blest for his supporting hand!"

" July 24. I hope to day I have been blest with an humble

waiting frame. I trust, that by the grace of the blessed God, I shall be able to make a wise improvement of the Lord's late withdrawal from me; in seeking to have a more humble sense of my own weakness—the evil of sin—and the necessity of cleaving to the Lord. I shall be more established in my trust in God, and better able to speak to others. The Lord be blest for his rod! O that I could but learn to go to the Lord's work, simply as an instrument in the Lord's hand; and to look to him and depend on him for support and success. Lord! help."

" July 26. To-day my mind has been a good deal sunk with thoughts of things relating to our church, &c. I want more faith in God. I was somewhat strengthened this evening in prayer. O! how strange it is that I should feel, more especially that I should indulge, a backwardness to this known, necessary, and profitable duty. Lord, help, awake and enable me to be more earnest in it for the future! Though I think, I endeavour to keep my heart fixed upon God, and often to breathe out my wants to him, yet I find it absolutely necessary to have often stated times to lift up my voice as well as my heart to God. I find the enemy busy to keep me from this."

" —— 29. To-day I think need not be reckoned among the days of my life, for I do not know that I have either done or received much good; only had pretty much liberty in the evening in praying with a sick man."

" September 27. To-day I set apart as much time as I conveniently can for fasting and prayer, to the following ends:

I. To confess and humble myself for my sins. They are many; 1. I have especial reason to be humbled for the mother of abominations, pride; that accursed evil which so much besets me, and so often too much overcomes me, especially after liberty in preaching. 1 Tim. iii. 6. 2, Lightness of mind. How much have I of this! how ill does it become a minister of the gospel! 1 Tim. iii. 4. 3, Too soon angry. Tit. i. 7. 4, Too slothful in business, in prayer and in study. 2 Tim. ii. 15. 1 Tim. iv. 13, 14. 5, Too much indulgence of the flesh, especially with sleep. 2 Tim. ii. 8. 6, Too often, especially formerly, for which I have reason to be humbled, indulged sinful thoughts. 7, My conversation among friends too trifling, and on things not the most profitable. 8, I fear I am too fond of the praise of men, not the praise of God. 9, I am too forgetful of mercies.

II. To implore the pardon of these and all my other sins; and grace to conquer temptations to them for the future, and to seek an increase of the opposite graces.

III. To implore the following particular favours: 1, If the Lord please, that I may be blest with such a degree of health and strength of body and such endowments of mind, that I may manage and go through every part of my work, as a minister, to the glory of his name, to the honour of his gospel and the satisfaction of his people. 2, More light into, and knowledge of his word, and wisdom to illustrate and improve the truths of it; reconcile difficulties and seeming contradictions in it; that I may be directed to such a method of handling it, that I may be able to suit my discourses to the circumstances of those to whom I speak: that God would so succeed my labours that his name may be much glorified; his cause, well defended; his truth, propagated; his ways, embraced; his children, established; and many souls, converted. 3, More compassion for poor sinners, more concern for the low state and drooping condition of religion, and the abounding of errors in principle and practice which is too evident: a more single eye to God's glory and more simple dependance on him in my work than I have. 4, That God would preserve me in a spirit of candour and moderation; and would keep me from the dangerous extremes and errors of this age of folly and vanity; simply attending to his word, and earnest at a throne of grace for direction and instruction in it. 5, A clearer evidence of my interest in Christ and more freedom from unnecessary doubts. 6, That God would bless my wife, daughter, other relations, religious friends, at home and distant, with needful, temporal and spiritual supplies. 7, Greater thankfulness for the liveliness that is so evident among my dear brethren, and the awakening there seems to be among others, and to pray to God that he would increase it.

I think I resolve against all the above-mentioned sins; and would be sincere in seeking the above graces; but ah! what dullness of mind! how much of what I should not be! how little of what I should be! I would once more resolve to make a surrender of my all to God; and would pray, 'Lord, by what means thou seest best, graciously make me what I should be.'

DAN TAYLOR."

" October 7. To-day, I hope, I have been blest with some victory over that destructive evil to which I am so much addicted, a light and frothy spirit. 'The Lord be blest.'

" —— 22. This evening, I have been employed in the work of self examination by several marks of christianity in Dr. Doddridge; and especially by Psalm xv. and blessed be the Lord, I think I have some reason to hope that they belong to me. I am the most condemned by verse 3. I think I would not, for any reward, injure the character and reputation of another; but I doubt I have not that tender regard for it, that I should have. Lord help and pardon!"

" —— 29. This morning, I had great liberty in studying the word. O! how good to be soon in the morning at this work! This evening, upon examination, I doubt my mind is not suitably impressed with a sense of the value of precious time. 2, Nor sufficiently resolute in pursuit of one subject. Having several things about me, I am too soon diverted from one thing to another. 3, I indulge too much curiosity in reading new and even trifling authors. 4, I doubt, whether I am not too nice and curious in the pulpit; of which my brother Thompson has sometimes told me: my hearers are unlearned, N.B. 5, I often protract my discourse too long. As a christian—how little zeal for God! love to precious souls! how little of that mind which was in Christ Jesus. I doubt whether I take sufficient time to ponder the path of my own feet. As these and such things have not only a bad influence on my own soul, but also on the souls of others, I desire to be humbled for them; and may God, by his grace, enable me to overcome and amend them."

" December 13. I hope I have this day enjoyed some enlivening visits from the Giver of every good gift. This evening, I have been examining my state, by Mr. Walker's Account of the New Creature and Dr. Reynolds on a Work of Grace; and, blessed be God, I have good evidence that my state is safe. Lord, help me to rejoice in thee and to glorify thee. As a preacher, I have read Mr. Hervey's Account of the Puritans whom the Lord greatly succeeded in their labours. I bless God, I trust that he has taught me something of it. It is such preaching at which I aim. Lord, help and succeed me! As to my life and behaviour, I have examined it this evening. I trust that I know something of the christian's life; and feel an earnest desire to attain to it

more effectually. But here how defective! Lord, quicken me in thy way!"

" January 10, 1767. This evening, having examined myself as to my love, by *1 Cor. xiii.* and Mr. Bennett's discourse upon it, I trust I have reason to bless God for a little measure of it; but, ah! how little! Lord, work in me more powerfully, and increase my grace of this and every other kind; and humble me for, and pardon, my defects and neglects through Christ my Saviour."

" — 28. O what an evil heart I have! I heard of a minister of Christ who was succeeded in his labours, and was different from me in some sentiments. O! how unwilling was my cursed proud heart to allow it! Lord, I think, I would not indulge such a spirit. Graciously pardon it, and enable me to overcome it."

" February 13. Much of this day I have spent in thinking concerning the Trinity and the person of the blessed Jesus. But what a subject! how suited to humble our natural pride! Lord, humble me more!"

" — 14. To-day I have employed in meditating on the same sublime and mysterious subjects; and O! how many perplexing questions arise in my mind. Yet I have had some happiness in the work, and a sweet dependance on the God of wisdom. I trust, I have been enabled by faith to plead, at the throne of grace, *James i. 5.* Blest be the Lord for that text! Lord, help me to make a good use of it. This evening, after self examination and prayer, I trust I know something of christianity; and feel a longing to know more of it, and a desire to be humbled for any defect. Lord, humble and quicken me!"

" — 17. This morning, I had tolerable liberty in the morning exercise; and my wife's prayer before family worship was affecting, and, I trust, profitable to me. Since my marriage, I have gone through several parts of the bible several times, in family worship; but I now think it my duty to take the whole bible before me, and begin this morning. Why should not my wife and any that may come under my roof, be instructed in every part of what the Lord hath spoken?"

" April 7. This morning, I was in meditation, convinced, that I am too negligent in watching over my heart and tongue, and in communing with my own heart and with God. Lord, humble and

pardon, and quicken my sluggish soul. I trust, I have enjoyed some degree of warmness of mind towards God, more than formerly, to-day. The Lord awaken me more."

" April 14. Upon reflection on past behaviour, this evening, I am conscious that I am too formal in duty and do not sufficiently labour with my heart to keep it in a suitable frame. O! how abominable to trifle with the great and good God!"

" May 24. This morning, my mind was much set at liberty in prayer: it was sweet exercise to me. Blessed be the Lord! I had some useful conversation with my beloved brother and friend, Mr. Fawcett, concerning ministerial exercises, and the frame of our minds in them."

" July 4. This morning, reading and talking about the study of the scriptures has, I trust, been of use to my mind. Thanks be to God for all his mercies! I trust, my mind has been somewhat moved towards God, and affected before him all the day. But O! what reason have I to complain of a stupid insensible unaffected mind! Lord, I adore thee, that thou hast promised to take away the stony heart and give me an heart of flesh. O! accomplish thy word unto thy servant, wherein thou hast caused him to trust."

" August 1. This morning, having set apart some time for prayer, examination and meditation, with abstinence, I trust my mind was inflamed with ardent desire more exactly to imitate and to be more entirely conformed to our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. O! how divinely amiable the pattern. But, O how far short of it do I come! Lord quicken me according to thy word, and make me more alive to thee by Christ Jesus!"

" May 12, 1768. To-day, I have been much beset with a peevish, ill, unhappy temper. The Lord pardon it, and give me more complete victory over it. I generally find religious exercises have a tendency to solemnize my spirits and raise my mind up to the Lord. O Lord, I bless thee for liberty to attend to thee and upon thee. May my soul delight in doing it; and may I ever draw near with humble boldness."

" August 25. I still find it good for me to draw near to God; but I have much tossing at present about many concerns, and perhaps may be sometimes too careless in catching opportunities for it. Yet, I trust, I would not be so; Lord, pardon me if I am. And, Lord, may I ever prize so great a favour for thy name's sake!"

“ June 25. Several days past have been days of great labour, toil, and hurry, with me; and I have reason to fear that I have not taken time enough for private devotion. But, through grace, I this morning determine to pay more constant and resolute regard to it. Lord, help me. Yesterday was a mortifying humbling day. I preached three times, with a mind very dark; but I trust that I sincerely bless God for it, this morning. I hope it will be a means of quickening my soul to cleave to the Lord more, and to be more careful in examining and watching over my own heart. Lord, of thy grace keep me near to thee, by thine own means. Chasten, correct and mortify me, any way rather than let me depart from thee.”

“ April 20, 1769. I hope I have enjoyed some real nearness to the Lord the last eleven days, though I have not taken proper time to note down my experiences. But whatever pain I am put to, or however throng I am, I think I had better take time for that; and would humbly propose to do it, and to be more close in the work of self-examination and watchfulness over my own heart. O Lord, make me to live like a christian in all things!”

“ June 25. I had good liberty in preaching twice to day to a crowded auditory; glory to God for it; but I had much darkness of mind after, till, in self-examination and prayer, I was in some measure delivered. Glory be to God!”

“ — 26. I believe my darkness chiefly arises from three causes: 1, Too much formality. 2, Too much trifling or want of earnestness for duty and in duty. 3, Too great a thirst for learning which I fear employs my mind too much, and makes it too cold towards God and religion. But I desire this morning, O thou heart-searching God, to give up myself afresh to thee, to watch against these things, and pray that I may enjoy strength and quickening grace from thee, that, for the remainder of my time, my whole heart may be given up to thee, and that I may walk with thee to more perfection.”

“ November 30, 1771. Some accounts of harsh speeches and thoughts from my brethren. Lord, help me to be strong in faith, giving glory to thee: and O! that I may do all in love, without prejudice or retaliation!”

In order to promote his own edification, as well as to do what he thought duty required, we find him, in conformity to the exam-

ple and advice of many eminent christians, entering into solemn covenant with the Lord; and expressly devoting himself, and all his powers and faculties, to his service. The following extracts are of this nature; and will shew how serious and interesting these transactions were.

“ 1764—December 28. This morning, I had some humblings of heart from a sense of my past sins and present imperfections and neglects. Lord! humble me to the dust, give me to see all the odious and abominable nature of every sin. May I abhor it and fly from it as I would from the face of a serpent. This day, the 28th of September, at almost ten o’clock in the forenoon, upon my knees, in my chamber, I resolve, through divine grace, in the name of Jesus, to make a surrender of all I have or am, to be devoted wholly and intirely in doing and suffering in the service of God and the setting forth his praise and glory; to be more resigned under cross providences, more watchful over my heart, words and actions; more earnest in seeking the good of poor souls, both in public and private; more diligent in every part of my work; more constant and fervent in my devotions; more earnest in endeavouring after every christian temper and increase in it; more serious in my constant behaviour. My study in all things shall be to act as becometh the gospel, and the capacity in which I stand towards God and his people. Lord! help me to keep with thee to my life’s end; and, if I neglect in any of these things, Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger lest thou bring me to nothing.

Signed, in the name of Jesus; and resolved upon in the strength of the blessed Spirit, this day, in this place and posture, by me,

DAN TAYLOR.”

“ 1765—May 3. I am now moderately recovered from a disorder. I have felt a great decline in health, I think, seven days; and one day and two nights the disorder has been a little severe. I think, I have had moderate satisfaction with regard to my state, as being enabled to repose some degree of confidence in the dear Redeemer. Nor do I know that my conversation in general can be much blamed, either by friends or enemies. But I have not been so exact, punctual and conscientious in approving myself to God and conversing with him in secret, and constantly examining

my heart, and all my thoughts, words and works before him, as I ought to have been. Lord! here I stand much reproved before thee. I would own it. I pray to see all the evil of it. I desire to be truly humbled for it. Lord! with regard to this and every thing else, search and try my deceitful heart. I thank my good and gracious God, I have had several very clear and convincing proofs, that the Lord has made my poor worthless labours profitable to many souls; and that my brethren are much knit in affection to me as an instrument in the divine hand: whence I conclude that the many racking and distracting doubts and scruples I have had with regard to these things are chiefly from the enemy. Oh gracious God; I would once more, in the name of Jesus Christ, through whom alone my best works and resolutions can be accepted, through the aid of the blessed Spirit, by whom alone I am sufficient for any thing, I would once more resolve to give myself more to thee than ever I have done, to be more constant and conscientious, and more earnest with and before thee in private. I would here, O Lord, disregarding friends or foes, my own desires or my own interest, or any thing else which may stand in competition with thy will concerning me, and my duty towards thee; here I would, this third day of May, resolve to make a surrender of my all to thee, to be thine and thine alone. Lord! help me strictly and conscientiously to keep covenant with thee, without any deviation from thee, while in this body of clay.

DAN TAYLOR."

But it was not on these more solemn and formal occasions only, that he devoted himself and all his powers to God. He frequently renewed his engagements: especially at seasons which naturally recalled to his mind his obligations to his Creator and Saviour; such as arriving at home after long journeys, recovery from sickness, &c. The reader will not, it is presumed, be displeased to peruse a few instances of this nature.

" September 10, 1764. Being Lord's day morning, I have read Dr. Doddridge on devoting a day to God; and find myself extremely deficient and too much insensible and unhumbled; but determine, through divine aid, henceforth to observe his directions; and through grace, in the name and presence of Jesus, the God of my salvation, the object of my hope and life of my soul, to begin to live anew. This day, in the strength of Jesus, I make

a surrender of my all to him, to be intirely devoted to his service, to study what may be for the setting forth of his glory to my life's end."

" October 27, 1766. I have been journeying in various parts nineteen days. I hope my mind has been sometimes alive, but at other times more dead. Lord! I desire now again to renew my covenant with thee, through thy dear Son, by the aid of thy divine Spirit, desiring to walk with thee, and to give myself up to thy service entirely; with a view to glorify thy name for what thou hast done for me. Lord, help me!"

" June 20. I am now returned home from a long journey to London and some other places; in which I have been called to preach pretty often, and blessed be God, I have had some evidences of the usefulness of my labours, both former and present. Now I am arrived safe at home, I would humbly surrender myself and my all afresh unto the God of my life; imploring grace that I may make it my one business and study, with more indefatigableness and success, to promote his interest and advance the glory of his name. Lord, graciously take me and use me, at thine own pleasure, for thine own praise!"

" January 1, 1769. The first day of a new year! O that I may live more to the Lord this year than I ever have done before! Lord, I would humbly desire to make a fresh surrender of my all into thy blessed hands, and to thy holy will. O be mercifully pleased to assist me by thy Spirit, and accept me through thy Son. This day my mind has been in some measure set at liberty towards the Lord; and especially this evening after preaching twice and administering the Lord's supper. Lord, help me to cleave to thee for ever."

" June 17, 1770. I am now returned from my journey, God be blest, in good health; and would humbly attempt, through grace, to give myself up to the work of the ministry with diligence and zeal. Lord! give me grace to be faithful to thee, and earnest for the good of precious souls. Give me more of the mind that was in Christ; and enable me to manifest it in my temper and conduct for thy honour and glory. O that the Lord of souls may be more near my heart!"

" That I may prosecute my business as I ought, Lord help me duly to improve precious time. I would give up my school, except one or two, for a time; and try if I can possibly make

out a living without it, that I may devote myself more to prayer and to the ministry of the word: and with thee, O God, I leave myself and my all. As this will make a change in my circumstances, I think it necessary to form a new plan for the improvement of my time. At present, this may perhaps be the fittest. Rise at five in general, except disordered or disappointed of my proper bed-time, ten. From five to ten in the morning, devotion in family and private, and study of divinity. From ten to twelve, read the classics, fathers, or some book in greek or latin. After dinner to three, read the lives of good men, or church history, or some other useful history. From three to eight at night, except on preaching evenings, and then as convenience admits, visit friends, catechise children, &c. The Tuesday I would set apart for literary correspondence, more or less of it as circumstances require, and Saturday for preparing for the pulpit. Let all be done with gravity, humility, honesty and zeal. Lord, help me by thy Spirit. After eight till sleep, books of practical divinity and devotion."

The mind of Mr. Taylor was by nature eagerly desirous of knowledge. He had, though in circumstances sufficiently narrow, managed to collect many books; and was impatient to become well acquainted with their contents. In this period, there is reason to believe, that he not only increased his acquaintance with the learned languages and the authors who used them; but that he acquired some knowledge of the elements of the mathematics and natural philosophy. He seems to have been aware that this literary ardour might prove, a dangerous temptation; and kept a conscientious watch lest it should interfere with his ministerial duties and preparation, or interrupt his attention to personal religion. The following extracts prove how carefully he guarded this, to him, easy-besetting sin.

"August 17, 1764. To-day, having been employed in dry studies, my mind has not been lifted up to the Lord so much as sometimes."

"December 19, 1765. This evening, our private meeting hath been of use to me. But O! what ignorance have I discovered in myself of the way of salvation. I have too much neglected to pray through a fondness for reading. Foolish creature! Are not all my springs in God? I trust the Lord

hath in some measure humbled me for it. Lord, humble me more!"

" January 14, 1767. This morning my mind was so intent upon the pursuit of learning, that I had a most prodigious struggle with flesh to take due time in devotion before I attended to it. I trust, I was humbled for it; and devotion was afterwards very useful to my soul. The Lord's name be blest!"

" September 9. These two days I have not enjoyed that liveliness of soul which I sometimes have and might have. Yet last night in our private meeting, and this evening in preaching, my mind was something set at liberty. O what reason I have to lament a backwardness to prayer, and a mind I fear too much drawn from it, in pursuit of learning."

" February 23, 1768. These two days, I have had much conversation with several persons, which has, I fear, too much prevented close meditation. I hope it has not been quite useless. I fear too ardent a desire after learning too much diverts my mind from devotion. Lord! forbid that any thing should keep me from communion with thee. Keep my eye single!"

" January 5, 1769. I think the great thing that perplexes and disturbs me, is, that my mind seems too much taken up with the desire of learning. My present circumstances, as far as I can see, demand it of me, to pursue it with diligence. O! that I could do it, yet keep my heart more with God."

" September 29, 1769. This morning I found it very difficult to get my thoughts from being fixed on learning, even in my devotions. Lord, help me to pursue all things, to thy honour and glory!"

Mr. Taylor was also careful to improve, to his spiritual edification, the common occurrences of life. When he received letters or visits from his friends, he noted what impressions their correspondence or company had made on his mind, and what hints of instruction might be derived from it. His own domestic mercies and trials, the afflictions of his neighbours, the falls of professors and the important transactions of the neighbourhood, afforded him subjects of profitable reflection, and quickened him in the discharge of his personal and official duties. His friendly interviews with his brethren in the ministry, especially with

Messrs. Fawcett and Ashworth, were highly conducive to his advantage both as a christian and a man.

“September 29, 1764. I have this day been to visit T. H. and find it difficult to speak to a person on a death bed. I have observed I think, 1, That a person may be filled with fear, from a sense of danger and seemingly impending wrath, when yet he has no true humility or sense of the odiousness of sin, and his just desert of divine wrath; yea, how difficult is it to persuade a soul of its own deserts. 2, We may, and I doubt many do, go to God as an absolute God, without having an eye to Christ; and may expect mercy from God for their repentance, &c. which I think is very dangerous and legal. 3, That by speaking against particular sins, we may sometimes enrage those who are guilty of them, and see not their evil nature; and though we ought, I think, to speak against particular sins, because the scriptures sometimes do; (witness our Lord to the woman of Samaria, John iv.) yet we ought to do it in such a manner as to lead the sinner to look at the fountain, the heart. Otherwise if we prevail against that sin, yet the work of justification and purification are in danger of being neglected.”

“February 14, 1765. I have been to see a young man who is sick. Lord prepare me for it.”

“— 16. These two days, I have been many times to see the young man. I hope it has been the means of awakening me to greater watchfulness.”

“— 17. To-day the youth is dead, I doubt without any real awakening. O dreadful! Lord, quicken and enable me to improve it for my own and others good!”

“May 4, 1765. To-day I have received a letter from dear Mr. John Dracup. O! what humility, self-abasement, zeal for the honour of God, and love to Christ, as well as a knowledge of divine things appears in it! How becoming a christian and a minister! But how little does my cold, ignorant, stupid heart, know of these things! ‘Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man.’ In every view I take of myself, how unlike a christian or a minister! Dost thou not see, my cursed, proud, deceitful heart, how little thou hast to be proud of? Rather how much to be ashamed of before a God of unspotted holiness? Ah! how the devil laughs me to scorn, while he drags me forwards in the net of pride! Lord, by any

means, pluck me from him: humble my proud heart, quicken my stupid senseless slothful mind, lest I and my people be led to destruction together."

" July 31. To-day, Mr. Fawcett being ordained, I set it apart for fasting and prayer; and I hope it has been profitable to me. I have heard the minister's duty explained; But, O how far short of it am I! Yet I engage, through grace, to attempt greater diligence. I have now done with preaching on doctrinal points, and determine henceforth to be diligent in illustrating, enforcing and promoting experimental and practical religion; as being most necessary, especially in this declining age. Lord, help!"

" September 14. To-day I have had much concern for my wife, who, after a day and night of hard labour, has this evening born me a daughter. This has been a day of bringing past sins to remembrance, and promising what I would do for God in times to come. O that through grace, I may never more forget the God of my mercies; but may devote myself to him in all holy conversation and godliness! To this end let me often read and ponder *Psalm cxvi.* 'Keep thy heart with all diligence.'

" January 23, 1766. To-day I have been bearing Mr. B. preach, and had afterwards some conversation with several, on certain important yet controverted points. I find conversation tends to enlarge the mind; but how needful resolutely to attend to the word of God. Lord, help me!"

" March 17. O! what nights the last two have been on account of pain in my face and head. How difficult duly to exercise faith and patience at such times! What a miserable case theirs who have no God to go to at these seasons! What a blessing and how necessary to be always prepared to go hence! Lord vouchsafe to pardon my sin! clear my evidence for heaven, and keep it clear; and graciously sauctify to me this affliction, that I may be more like thee!"

" April 10. To-day a young man came to me who has been for some time tempted to put an end to his life. I trust, I was enabled in some measnre, to think for and speak to him, to his satisfaction. But oh! how ignorant am I in such cases! What reason to bless God for his mercy in delivering me from these dreadful temptations; but how ungrateful! What cause to pity and sympathize with such persons, but how insensible and stupid!"

" June 3. I have been at Halifax these two days, and have heard of the fall or misconduct of several professors; which I hope will make me watchful and earnest at a throne of grace for myself and others. Coming home, I was favoured with and took the opportunity to open the necessity and the way of salvation to a poor ignorant person I met with. May it be to his profit! Lord make me wise!"

" December 1. This day, I have had some distress from the fear of the death of my little daughter. How difficult to repress such sorrow! Yet I trust after some meditation and prayer, I was enabled to leave her in the hands of the Lord; and have had some happiness and liveliness most of the day. Blessed be the Lord."

" March 3, 1767. I have this day heard a valuable practical discourse, delivered by my esteemed friend and brother, J. Fawcett, from *Prov.* ii. 20. which, I trust, has been of use to me. Lord help me to preach and practise as I ought to do! Afterward, I was informed that one of our friends had spoken of a practical discourse delivered by me and some other things, unbecomingly. A fresh call to me to pray for wisdom, patience, prudence and zeal. Lord, help me!"

" April 15, 1768. This has been a day of hard labour among watchful company; but I trust it has pleased the good Lord to enable me to guard my temper and my tongue. This evening I had great liberty in speaking a few words to them concerning their precious souls!"

" December 10. The Lord has graciously this day delivered my wife of a son. May he, by grace, be made a son of God. By this means, the Lord has increased my blessings and my charge; may it please him to increase my wisdom and my diligence, life and love, as a christian and a minister, for his name's sake!"

" February 23, 1769. To-day, I have preached and baptized nine persons amidst much scorn and persecution from the world. Lord, enable me to endure hardness; and as my charge is now so much increased, Lord increase my zeal, prudence, humility and courage."

" April 12. Blessed be God that I have some hopes of a work of grace being begun and in some measure carried

on in one of my young men boarded with me. O! Lord, teach me to use all prudent means to foster it, I entreat thee!"*

" June 27. This evening, I had good liberty in preaching; but being far from home, and very rainy, I fear that I got great cold."

" July 1. I have had two days of great illness, caused I believe by the cold I took last Thursday evening. Lord enable me to improve it for some good purpose."

" —— 4. My disorder yet continues; but blessed be the good God who can and will make all things work together for the good of his children. O! Lord make me love thee, trust in thee, and be resigned to thee in all things. Thy will be done in me, upon me, and by me, through Christ Jesus."

Having made these extracts to illustrate Mr. Taylor's character and experience as a private christian, we shall add a few more to exemplify his diligence, earnestness and care to improve in every qualification for the work of the ministry; and to discharge all the duties of that important employment with fidelity and success. Every serious mind will be pleased and edified with the proofs of sincerity and zeal which these extracts display; but to young men, just entering on the sacred work, they must be peculiary useful and interesting.

He was careful to review his labours and to observe what subjects were most useful, what modes of preaching most successful; and to collect hints of instruction from every source.

" October 14, 1764. These six days I have been considerably drawn to God; and have learnt: 1, That a minister should be as a watchman to observe, on every hand, the approach of the enemy. 2, That generally clearing up the necessity and nature of a real change, &c. which, I think, is much the work of brother Thompson, is attended with the best effects. 3, That it is good to observe what kind of preaching is most blest. 4, From the affairs at Hull, what prudence and discretion are necessary for ministers!"

" January 1, 1765. I have been profited much by talking with an ancient christian, at my father's. I see the necessity of insisting more upon the misery of man by nature. Lord! help me to preach the gospel, the whole gospel."

* This probably refers to Mr. Sutcliff, who was with him at this period.

“ January 11, 1765. This morning, in meditation, I thought it necessary to be often hinting in preaching, the impossibility of doing any real good without the divine grace attending it. This may keep me and the hearers mindful of it; and so make us cry for it, and not rest in mere form.”

“ May 25. To-day I have observed that I ought in preaching to speak with clearness to the understanding—with evidence to the judgment and faith—with life and energy to affect the mind—and with softness and tenderness to allure. Lord, help me!

“ December 8. I have heard a valuable discourse this evening, at Wainsgate, from Mr. J. Hartley, on overcoming the world. Lord, help me to preach and practise it. Upon reflection, to day I have thought that it might suit the state of my brethren to be a little particular in handling some of the *duties of christianity*. This, therefore, I would attempt when I have finished the subject in hand, if opportunity permit. Lord help and assist!”

“ April 18, 1768. From a sermon which I this day heard concluded, and some conversation after it, I am ready to think it may be useful to open up some dark passages of scripture, of which many seem to have strange notions.”

“ July 31. I have preached three times this day; and hope that a sense of the worth of souls and the greatness of the ministerial work has been more than ordinarily impressed on my mind, by a few words spoken this evening, by two friends. Lord, may I keep this constantly on my mind. O humble me, in any way, for every neglect, in that infinitely important work.”

“ August 18. This evening, in our private meeting, a person made some mortifying remarks on the imperfections of my preaching, which, though I trust that they are entirely unfounded, will, I hope, be of use to me. Lord, grant they may! And may I always be willing and desirous to be taught, especially in this most important work.”

“ April 6, 1769. I hope a remark made by a poor illiterate woman to-day will be of some use to me, in conducting my ministry. Lord, help me to make improvement daily by and from the meanest.”

“ September 24. This morning, reading some of Gillie’s Historical Collections has, I trust, been very reviving to my soul. I fear, I do not sufficiently observe the Lord’s hand in this work

of convincing and converting sinners. I would humbly resolve to note it more, through his grace assisting. I would also humbly attempt more earnestness and resolution, if possible, in my endeavours to keep my hearers to the solid, substantial, experimental parts of religion, and from disputes. Lord mercifully grant that neither my imprudence, nor that of any other professor, may be a means of hindering thy blessed work!"

2. He was equally faithful in recording any thing that appeared to him amiss in his public labours; and especially notes the disadvantages which he experienced from the neglect of due preparation for the sacred work. Against these defects he earnestly sought divine assistance; and endeavoured to improve them as cautions to future watchfulness.

" August 6, 1764. This day I have thought that I am not so particular as I ought to be in laying down the fall of man."

" September 13. This evening, in going to preach, my heart was not so fixed, nor my tongue so well employed as they ought to have been. My friend and I had religion for our theme; but we spoke more of others than was necessary. On account of this, my mind was not so well disposed for preaching as I could have wished; yet the Lord blest me with much liberty. Blessed be his name."

" — 27. This morning, my mind was moderately at liberty in prayer, and has been through the day inflamed with a desire after the good of souls, and continued in an even, happy frame in the evening. I expected to have had much liberty in preaching; but found the contrary. My mind was very barren. I was too careless before preaching in keeping my heart fixed upon the Lord for help; and too self-sufficient. I thought, in preaching, every body would loathe it almost, and was ashamed to go forward; but I was informed afterwards that J. P. was very much blest. Hence I learn these things. 1, It is bad to be big with expectation of some extraordinary power, though I am in a good frame. The enemy may get advantage against me as he did to day; and draw me into remissness and self-indulgence: which, 2, I should always watch against, especially before preaching: always having my eye fixed upon God as helpless in myself. 3, I should beware of being discouraged by thinking that others are unhappy because I am."

“ December 23. Being Lord’s day, I have been a little disordered in body, and very flat and dull in mind in preaching three times. I think the Lord withheld from me, as justly he might, divine influence, because I had not prepared for the pulpit as I should have done. I was much cast down and discouraged in the evening, and much disordered in my body; but resigned to the divine will, and in some measure received comfort from *1 Cor. xv. 19.*”

“ —— 30. I had moderate liberty in preaching this day three times; but did not get, so well as I should have done, my sermon wrought into my heart by meditation. I think taking my notes into the pulpit was hurtful to me, as I depended too much upon them. For the future, I would resolve to meditate more closely on my prepared matter, before I preach.”

“ September 15, 1765. To-day I had much liberty in preaching thrice; but I preached much too loud; and half an hour too long, I think, every sermon. I must, if possible, learn to speak rather lower and shorter. But O! how precious are souls! Surely if I should preach myself to death, and by doing it, be more instrumental to the conversion of one sinner, I should have my reward. Talking with Mr. P. about religion, and the dreadful havoc which Satan makes among professors, I hope I shall be awakened to cleave more closely to God and his word.”

“ December 5. In my preaching, I doubt I am not sufficiently studious what will promote the Redeemer’s glory; nor labour as I ought to do, to display his excellencies. Lord, help.”

“ February 5, 1766. To night I preached from *Psalm xliv. 8.* but had not that freedom I could have wished. I fear I had not made due preparation. It is right that the Lord should scourge us for our folly, when we can be so vile as to serve him with what costs us nothing. Lord, help me to love thee for thy rod; keep my mind near to thee; and humble me before thee in what way thou pleasest.”

“ March 2. To-day having much liberty in preaching twice, I continued too long and spoke too loud, till I fear that I hurt my constitution? O! who that loves souls would not do any thing short of self-murder, to be instrumental in promoting their salvation? Lord, help me: and succeed my poor labours!”

“ —— 23. I have this day been favoured with much liberty

in preaching twice, especially in the forenoon. But this afternoon, I mentioned a sentiment, which I think contrary to the gospel, with too much heat of spirit. O what a corrupt heart is mine! Lord, pardon me; and enable me in future to avoid it, and to watch over my own heart and tongue."

" December 21. To-day in the afternoon, by giving too much vent to my passions in preaching, and having not thought sufficiently previously, I fear I was led into some indecencies, or at least into some inaccuracies of expression. May I be warned for the future! I hope my mind was kept in a solid frame this evening."

" January 22, 1769. I have preached three times this day, blessed be the Lord, with tolerable liberty; but have been led to extremes, I doubt, both in length of sermons and strength of voice. I fear too, in the warmth of passion, some odd words may have slipt from me, which had better have been kept in. O Lord! may I enjoy more prudence and real zeal for thee."

3. He was careful to improve the interesting occurrences which took place, in the neighbourhood, as well as to instruct his hearers in such doctrines and duties as seemed to be little understood or too much neglected; and he sometimes condescended to preach on a given subject or from a given text, at the desire of his friends.

" January 3, 1765. On new year's day at night a man in Heptonstall murdered another, after they had been drinking together, according to the common custom of the season. I hope some impressions are made upon the minds of the neighbours by this occurrence. O that I knew how to improve it to my own good, and the good of my hearers!"

" — 5. To-day I have had pretty much liberty in preaching three times. In the afternoon, I endeavoured to improve the murder mentioned above, from *Psalm l. 22.* to a numerous auditory. O that the Lord would bless it."

" February 26, 1767. I have had much uneasiness and distress on account of some opposition which some professors (shocking as the thought is) have made against two close practical sermons, delivered by me, on *Rom. xiii. 8.* May the Lord bless me with true courage mixed with prudence, uprightness and

simplicity; tender concern for the honour of God, and real love to precious souls."

" February 10, 1768. The Lord seems to be scourging us by floods and tempests; but I feel my heart strangely insensible. Lord! pardon, humble and quicken; and let not my heart forget thee."

" —— 12. This day, I have beheld the havoc made by the floods with very little true humility of mind. Oh! what an insensible stupid heart I have! Lord, in mercy, soften, melt, pierce and take away this heart of adamant."

" —— 14. I preached three times, and endeavoured to improve the late providence of the floods. Good Lord, succeed it!"

" September 12, 1769. I have visited several friends to-day, and my heart has been enlarged amongst them. I have seen a necessity of preaching both clearly and earnestly on the subjects of private prayer and family religion."

" October 25. This day I have preached to a crowd, with good liberty, from *Isaiah* xiv. 9, *at request*. O, eternal God, may those dear souls who heard me, hear and fear thee."

" November 22. I endeavoured to deliver a simple discourse on faith and love; which notwithstanding its simplicity, I have reason to believe was very useful. O, all-wise God! give me to take up my cross in this, as in other things; and so to preach as to be best understood and felt, though I do not obtain the character of a learned man and a fine speaker."

" March 7, 1770. I have this day, endeavoured to clear up the nature of faith to a crowded audience, by particular request, against some pernicious sentiments which I fear begin to have too much place in our country. Lord, succeed it."

" March 11. I have this day been handling another piece of controversy for the ease of some perplexed minds. Lord, make it useful."

4. For many years after the commencement of his ministry, he was often exercised with gloomy thoughts and desponding fears, respecting his usefulness as a minister. These frequently attacked him after the labours of the Lord's day, and caused him much anxiety.

August 3, 1764. This evening I was discouraged by the

thoughts, that my preaching and every thing should come to nought; but was blest with some degree of resignation to the will of God, and afterwards with some confidence in him. Bless the Lord!"

" August 12. Just before going to preach this afternoon, I was almost overwhelmed with fear that I should at last, notwithstanding my preaching to others, be found a reprobate. I was well convinced how unable I am to believe of myself, and the need I have to cry for faith. Surely they who call believing an easy matter, know not what it is! O what fears have filled my mind this evening!"

" September 10. This forenoon, I had much liberty and comfort in preaching; but, in the afternoon, being got into the pulpit, after the first prayer, my mind was so confused and my memory so taken away, that I could scarcely remember from one sentence to another. I really thought the devil had some uncommon power against me. However I went through the work moderately. Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

" February 24, 1765. I preached twice: much too long the second time, which was a funeral sermon for a youth. I had not that liberty which I expected; and had a very hard struggle afterwards under the thought, that I had profited nobody, and disgusted all who were there. I have many such times after preaching. O that I knew whence they come! Perhaps the Lord permits the devil to tempt me in order to humble me: or, perhaps it is really so; and the people are disgusted with the shallow and indigested stuff I preach. If the former, Lord, humble me. If the latter, make me more diligent in study and looking to thee for help. How oft am I made to think that I shall do no good; but preach my congregation away. I have, for some time, been convinced that happiness is not of this world; but, till now, I have been so weak as to be too much elated at the conversion of sinners, the multitudes that attended the word, &c. Now though these may, as I think they ought, increase my joy; yet, glory be to God, I hope he has convinced me this day, that there is none to look to, or to expect happiness from, but himself. O! when shall I learn to think to act, always to be, as though there were no being but He and myself in heaven, or in earth!"

" February 26. To-day, especially in the morning, I had a

very lively sense of religion on my mind. Bless the Lord for it! I have been blest with a discovery of the use of trials, especially such as I had on Lord's day afternoon. Alas! what a proud worm should I be! how soon forget my dependance on God were he not thus to humble me! Lord, I bless thee for it. O! keep me near thee, though with thy rod. Use thine own means, and bow mine heart."

" April 5. This afternoon I have been much distressed from a sense of the greatness and difficulty of the ministerial work. How unfit am I! could I think it agreeable for the divine will, O how freely could I wish to beg my bread rather than preach the gospel. Lord, pardon my pride, unbelief, or whatever thou seest amiss in me: give me light, life, humility, faith, resignation, and whatever thou seest necessary. This evening I was much encouraged by observing the zeal of Mr. Thomas Doolittle, who built the first meeting-house in London. Lord, give me faith!"

" July 14. I had moderate liberty in preaching in the forenoon; but in the afternoon, during the singing of the first hymn, was involved in much darkness, which continued all the time of divine service. I got through the work with much difficulty, and extreme gloominess of mind. I had to preach afterwards at Gall-Stones; and went full of darkness and distress: and though I had moderate liberty in preaching, yet I was not delivered from it. After coming home I was ready to be persuaded that I never should be able to preach again. In the night I was accused of hypocrisy. I think I desire to be honest and upright before God. In all things I desire that God would search me, and try me; and if there be any way of wickedness in me, that he would humble me for it. And whether I have comfort or not, which I would have, or not have, as the Lord seest best, yet I desire that I may be able to follow him with a perfect heart. Lord, be pleased, if I am deceived, to undeceive me, and give me to cleave to thee."

" March 29, 1767. The former part of this day was a day of more liberty and hopes; but the evening, of exceeding much darkness and doubt. I preached three times with tolerable liberty of mind, yet could not afterwards forbear fearing that I should be a Judas. Lord! shew me where and what I am! O! make me what I should be; and let me not perish for thy name's sake!"

"March 6, 1768. Preached thrice, and before the last service had some discouraging suggestions and fears that my labours were unsuccessful. But upon reflection I was enabled to take courage, knowing that these fears have been before suggested, when it has pleased the Lord to own me in a particular manner. I had great liberty afterwards."

At other times he enjoyed much pleasure in his sacred work, and often recorded, with grateful praise, the success with which a divine blessing crowned his labours. As he advanced in the ways of truth, his confidence increased, and he seems by degrees to have been enabled to overcome those desponding fears which had so often harassed his mind, in the former part of his ministry. Out of many entries of this nature, we select a few.

"September 15, 1765. This evening I preached at William Crossley's. In the work, my mind was moderately at liberty. To-day I have heard some encouraging news concerning the word which the Lord is pleased to give me to speak. Blest be his name. Thine, Lord, I would be; wholly thine. O! take my heart, my whole heart."

"June 15, 1766. I have had a moderate degree of delight and pleasure this day in preaching twice; and have been informed of some apparent good, which the Lord has been pleased to effect by my preaching last Wednesday evening. O! rich grace and goodness! What shall I render to the Lord for his goodness to me! Lord, keep me humble and thankful; and enable me in all things to aim at thy glory!"

"— 18. This evening I went to preach much disordered in body; but, blest be the Lord! he delivered me from it in the work, so that I scarcely perceived any thing of the effects of it afterwards."

"September 11. This morning my mind was dark, and I was at a loss for, and in some distress about, a text for the next Lord's day; but in applying to the Lord and his word, I soon found both words, matter, and method. Blest be the Lord for James i. 5."

"January 6, 1767. I have this day had evidence that my preaching is somewhat beneficial and acceptable, even to wise and experienced christians: an encouragement not to be overlooked. Lord, make me truly thankful; and enable me to preach more usefully!"

"September 27. I have preached three times with freedom and delight; and have already had some testimony to the usefulness of my poor labours this day. O! may the God of all grace enable me to admire his condescension. May it please thee, good Lord, to continue thy favourable regards to me in this respect, for the advantage of precious, immortal souls."

"April 5, 1768. I have seldom enjoyed more liberty of mind and more sensible pleasure in preaching, than I have done this evening, in speaking of the fulness of Christ. Lord, may mine own heart, and the hearts of those who have heard me, enjoy more of the sweetness and experience more of the truth of it: and be thine the glory."

"September 8, 1769. Each of these two days I have preached three times; and have reason to believe that my poor labours are yet succeeded with a blessing. Glory to God for it! O! that my vain mind may not be led away from the Lord; but that I may serve him in the beauty of holiness; and never be suffered to pull down by my conduct what I attempt to advance by my tongue!"

"March 17, 1771. Glory be to my God, I hope my soul has been more alive to him this week than for some weeks past. I have been favoured with several clear evidences that my poor ministerial services are still owned by Him with success; especially from the experiences of three persons, who have proposed to join with us in church fellowship. O Lord, may I never more grieve thy Holy Spirit; but grant me, Lord, to cleave to thee, and watch over mine own heart daily! May my growing acquaintance with spiritual subjects, and with the power of godliness, and my encreasing conformity to the blessed Jesus, prove that thou dost indeed smile upon me!"

Mr. Taylor's anxiety to discharge the important duties of a pastor, in a manner most conducive to the good of his charge, and the glory of his Saviour, is very apparent from every page of his Diary. The affairs of the church lay near his heart; and, sensible of his want of experience, he was earnest in seeking for divine illumination. The following few extracts will at once explain and confirm this remark.

"August. 9, 1784. This day we had a church meeting, and I heard a bad report of C. D. whom I shall go to reprove to-morrow; but oh! how irksome."

" August 10. This day I have had much peace and liberty of mind; especially in reproving C. D. I have learnt that we want love among us; and freedom in telling our experience to one another."

" December 10th. In the evening I had many discouraging thoughts and much discontentedness of mind to struggle with; arising from the consideration of my circumstances, as being with a small poor people, having no ministers to converse with, &c. but I found access to God, some power to wrestle against it; and, I trust, was delivered from it in some measure. O! for faith!"

" — 13. This morning, as well as last night, I had some distress of mind concerning the poverty and smallness of our church, &c. but was enabled, from a mind resigned to God, and I trust from a degree of confidence I had in the Divine favour, to feel some degree of willingness, that the Lord should suffer me to be despised or distrest here, as he pleased, so his will might be done in me and by me. Lord, grant me seriousness, humility, meekness and patience becoming my station. To-day I have been kept moderately lively and watchful: Blessed be the Lord. At night my mind was in a cold carnal frame."

" — 22. These four days my mind has been much roused to follow and set forth the glory of God more. O! that I knew what to do to be useful to the rising generation! Do teach me, how and when to perform the duty of reproof. I am among those who need it much; but I think I know not how to perform it as I ought. Lord, help me! The hearing of so many sudden deaths has been a means to awaken me, I trust, to prepare, and stir up my hearers to prepare to meet God."

" January 22, 1765. To-day I went to speak with brother E. concerning a small difference which had happened between him and brother F. G. by a few words spoken in freedom, though by way of reproof. I learn, 1, How much the enemy seeks every advantage. 2, What prudence and patience is necessary for a minister: therefore, 3, How needful for me to be oft at the throne of grace. Blessed be the Lord, I succeeded. I hope, the breach will go no further. Lord, give me wisdom!"

" March 5, 1766. To-day, we, as a church, have set apart for, and spent a great part of it in, fasting and prayer. I hope it has been a good day to many of us. I think it hath been so to me. I hope it has tended to the enlivening and fixing of my

mind; and I hope our consultations have been carried on in brotherly love and singleness of heart. Lord, succeed them."

" May 29. To-day, in our church meeting, I hope all our souls were, in some measure, happy; but a case which was brought before us, concerning a sister, who on account of a bad frame of mind, and other ruffling circumstances, refused to come to the Lord's table, brought a kind of gloom upon us, though I trust, that it will turn to advantage. O! that I had wisdom to manage such cases! How great a work to be a minister. Lord! teach me!"

" November 6. This has been the day of our church meeting. Though some things of importance, a little disagreeable in themselves, were agitated, and though I have reason to own my ignorance in speaking of such things; yet I have reason also to wonder and be amazed that I was enabled to see so clearly and speak so readily upon those points as, I trust, I did: and I hope they were rather of use than harm. Blest be the Lord!"

" January 29, 1767. In the afternoon is our church meeting: and as I expect some difficult and perplexing cases to be mentioned, I would devote this forenoon to seek the Lord by prayer and fasting, that he would graciously communicate wisdom to my poor dark ignorant mind, and to all our minds, to enable us to think of and to speak to such cases with wisdom and prudence, and to the peace and good of the church, which may the Lord graciously preserve and promote. In our church meeting a brother and a sister roused a quarrel which has been for some time in agitation, to our great disturbance, which it was impossible for us to decide, on account of the stupidity of our brother's temper. O! what a work it is to be a minister! How unfit am I for it! Lord, give me understanding! O! what a blessing it is thou art able to make wise the simple. Lord, give wisdom!"

" February 5. To-day we have had another church meeting. Many disorders seem to be creeping in amongst us, and many difficult cases are to be handled. O! how ignorant am I of my great work! Lord, instruct!"

" —— 7. These two days, I have visited and conversed with a few friends concerning the above-mentioned disorders, and have laboured to study some passages of scripture suitable. Lord, direct and succeed."

" —— 8. I have this day delivered two discourses on *Rom.*

xiii. 8. on account of the irregularity of some professors in that respect. Lord, succeed my poor labours."

" April 14. I set apart this forenoon for abstinence and prayer over, and meditation upon, the former Epistle to Timothy: and though I have reason to complain of insensibility, yet I trust it has not been wholly in vain. O! that God would make me a minister after his own heart."

" July 30. This morning, being much sunk in distress about a case in our church, occasioned by the behaviour of one of our sisters. I hope I felt something of the power and sweetness of those precious words, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.' Blessed be thy name, good Lord, for so precious a promise! O that my soul may for ever be supported by it, and love thee for it."

" August 2. We had a very distressing meeting concerning several, but especially J. H. who, alas! has committed an abominable sin. Lord, be merciful to her and make so dreadful a circumstance of use to all the rest of us. Lord, make us take heed lest we fall."

" April 23, 1769. To-day, we have had a church meeting attended with some perplexity on account of a weak brother; but I am in great hopes that a blessing from the Lord will follow upon it. Lord, grant it may: and build up our souls in the holy faith, and make us an honourable, happy, useful people through Jesus Christ."

" July 15. I have had some sad accounts of two persons in fellowship with us: one who is imbibing pernicious errors, and the other running into sin. O that I knew what means to use! Lord, teach me; and recover my bodily health, that I may be able to visit them."

" —— 17. I have been to visit the two brethren above mentioned; but never did I before see such a proof of the deceit and desperate wickedness of the human heart. Lord, impress on their consciences what I have said to them, for Jesus Christ's sake!"

" —— 20. I have had more conversation with these unhappy friends; but oh! how stupid! May this uncommon trial humble me, and make me more sensible of my own inability to do any thing as of myself; and to value Christ and his grace more highly."

" May 10, 1770. We kept a fast to join in prayer for a blessing on the word preached, and for the success of the gospel. O that God may hear our poor prayers, and grant his blessing to attend us in every work. Lord, help thy poor dust to use every proper means for the propagation of thy truth and interest; and grant me and my dear brethren grace so to devote ourselves to thee, that we lay no stumbling block in the way of any one; but may we let our light shine before men, that thy name may be glorified!"

During this period, Mr. Taylor obtained many books, and was diligent in the improvement of them. We have already seen that his acquisitions in critical, theological and biblical knowledge were very considerable. But those writers to whom he paid the most particular attention were the practical and experimental divines. He himself informs us, " that in the first years of his ministry, it was his general practice, on Friday evenings, to read the lives of those ministers who had been celebrated for zeal, holiness and usefulness."* How carefully he perused these and other books of a similar tendency, and how conscientious he was to profit by them himself and to draw lessons of instruction from them for the benefit of others, his Diary abounds with instances. But as the extracts from that manuscript have already exceeded our intention, we shall confine our selection to a small number; and thus close this chapter.

" July 27, 1764. This evening, by reading Baxter's Life, I have been confirmed in my resolution to speak upon controversies with candour."

" September 9. To-day I have observed I think very clearly from Mr. Edwards, that the devil can raise any kind of external ideas in the mind: therefore no external ideas whatever, simply as such, can be evidences of grace. I have learnt also, that in judging of experience, whether my own or others, I should distinguish between what is in itself purely spiritual, and such accidental frames as may or may not attend it."

" December 7. To-day my mind has been somewhat affected by reading, in Mr. Henry's Life, his very serious examination of himself before his ordination to the pastoral office. O! that God would make me such a minister! By reading this book I

* See Gen. Bap. Mag. vol. I. p. 1.

am more determined to study for peace, so far as I can with truth. This day, reading the crosses of an ancient minister, and especially the poverty to which he was exposed has been some support to me. The Lord who upheld him is always the same!"

" February 13, 1765. This morning by reading Mr. Henry, and considering what I read yesterday in Dr. Watts, (blessed be God for those books!) I again resolve through divine aid to avoid controversy as much as possible; and when Providence calls to it, to be short, candid and practical. Lord, help me!"

" May 17. To-day I called at the public house at Ekmund-wike, where I met with a volume of sermons by Mr. Hill; which were of use to me: especially one on the ministerial work. Lord, make me a workman not needing to be ashamed!"

" September 20. This morning the Lord, in his providence, brought to my hand Mr. Bennett's Christian Oratory. I have looked over the first sermon concerning fasting; and, as in many other things, O! how defective do I find myself. I have sometimes, in some measure, attended to the duty; but how carelessly! how ill managed! I hope for the future, to set apart the Thursday now and then, or another day if more suitable to my circumstances, for God, that is, as much as I can of it, to prosecute some such method as he lays down. What an almost christian, or half christian am I! Lord, graciously pardon and quicken!"

" October 19, 1765. To-day, I have entered on reading a book of controversy, Brine against Watts's Ruin and Recovery. I trust, that I am enabled to read impartially, and have them both before me; but see not yet any reason to change my judgment. I see reason, however, to be confirmed in my resolution to speak of deep controversy with moderation. Lord, help me!"

" July 4, 1766. This afternoon I have had the opportunity of running over the life of Mr. P. Henry, who I find was an humble peaceful christian, a tender father, and affectionate husband, whose delight was acts of love to man, and devotion to God; a faithful, laborious, warin, plain, practical preacher; full of heavenly conversation among friends; laboured for peace, yet valiant for the truth; diligently practised and earnestly recommended the study of the Bible above ought else; lived to God. Go and do likewise. Lord, help me!"

" February 2. To-day I have not been very well in body;

but have enjoyed some liberty of mind in preaching twice; and have had some revivings in hearing and reading Gillie's Success, &c. That excellent enlivening book! the Lord be blest for it and every other such help."

" February 18. To-day the reading of *Gen.* iii. *Matt.* vi. and some of Melancthon's works has been, I trust, quickening to me. Blest be the Lord for all my good books, especially the Bible."

" March 26. The reading of Mr. Flavell on Keeping the Heart, was quickening to my soul. He observes, ' This work (of keeping the heart) has been neglected, and the time and strength of professors eaten up. 1, By controversies. 2, By worldly thoughts.' It is too, too evidently so at this day. The Lord awaken my dead and careless soul; and the Lord awaken all my dear brethren! Blest be the Lord, my impressions of this kind were rendered more heavy and affecting this evening by reading a little more of that excellent little book."

" April 12. To-day, hearing a part of Dr. Doddridge on Growth in Grace was I trust useful to me. I hope I discovered a little growth, blessed be the Lord; and I desire to be ashamed to see how little it is. Lord, quicken me with thy Spirit."

" —— 29. These too days I have had some cheering encouraging views of things; especially in reading Marshall on Sanctification; but not that full assurance and satisfaction, I would have. O may the Sun of righteousness arise upon my soul with healing in his wings!"

" May 18. These two days I discovered something I trust of the necessity and nature of living by faith; and read part of Marshall on Sanctification and Dr. Owen on Indwelling Sin, both of which were of use to me. The Lord be blest for my books, and such as are by his providence put into my hand."

" September 21. Last night, having to arise from bed for something for my little daughter, I endeavoured to read and examine myself by Mr. Venn on Repentance. I hope much to my profit, as it was to my satisfaction."

" —— 22. The last night, having to rise again, on the like account, I read some further in Mr. Venn, with singular satisfaction. Blest be the Lord! This morning my mind is alive to God. May my life be devoted to his glory. Gracious God, may it please thee to keep clouds and darkness from my mind,

and cause me to enjoy a more clear evidence of my interest in thee!"

" November 10. This day reading of the learned Grotius complaining, at his death, of having spent his life in much labour for little profit, and of the diligence and sanctity of some of God's dear and faithful ministers, will, I hope, be useful to me, as they have made some impression on my mind. Lord, help me to follow such as through faith and patience have inherited the promises!"

" January 26, 1767. My heart was sensibly warmed and quickened to-day in reading the Life of the excellent Mr. Cotton, of New England. Awake! O my soul, in the name and strength of Jesus, and follow the example of such eminent men, as they followed Jesus Christ. In my morning devotions, and in the evening, in reading and thinking of Christ as the *only* true foundation, I trust my mind was quickened. Lord help me clearly to view that solid foundation, and savingly to build upon it myself, and to point others to it!"

" February 21. I have this day read and heard much of the Life of that truly great man, Dr. Doddridge; and have reason to be ashamed of want of zeal, life and watchfulness. But O Lord, humble and quicken me. I would surrender and devote my all to thee. May I do it more effectually and more to thy glory!"

" February 21, 1768. I have, this day, begun to read Caryl on Job, as a devotional book; but whether I shall go on with it or not, I know not till I try its manner, method and spirit. I have read over Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor, six volumes, octavo, in about a year, as a book of devotion; and, I think, with advantage. But, I fear, I am an inattentive reader. Lord! help me to improve the little time I have to the glory of thy name."

" April 4, 1769. To-day Dr. Watts's Works came to my hand. I am wonderfully favoured by providence in this respect. Lord! make every book I read a blessing to me!"

" August 4, 1770. These two days, the reading of Dr. Doddridge's Life and his Rise and Progress has been of great use to me, and discovered to me very sensibly some of my manifold defects; but through grace I would humbly make a new attempt to reform and correct them. Lord Jesus! help me more carefully to watch over and keep my own heart, and in a

more spiritual manner to visit my people—to preach to them more spiritually and experimentally—to study the practical and experimental parts of scripture more closely and apply it more conscientiously. Jesus, grant it!"

" March 11, 1771. I have been reading a large part of the Life of the excellent Dr. Doddridge. O! that I did but more imitate so admirable an example! Lord, thou knowest it is my desire to serve thee with a perfect heart. I praise thy great name, I trust, thou dost give me more power over worldly thoughts than I experienced for a while after beginning in worldly business; which, I hope, I began with an eye to thy glory."

CHAPTER SECOND.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE NEW CONNECTION TO THE
TIME WHEN MR. TAYLOR LEFT YORKSHIRE.

SECTION I. *The Transactions of that Period.*

HAVING given these Extracts from Mr. Taylor's private Diary, which may be considered as furnishing the *History of his Religious Experience and Mental Exercises*, during the first ten years of his ministry, we now resume the Narrative.

1770. This year was distinguished by much labour and many important transactions, which had a considerable influence on his future life: of these the formation of the New Connection of General Baptists occupied his principal attention. We have already noticed the difference of sentiment on some fundamental points of christianity which had always existed between Mr. T. and his Lincolnshire brethren. He thought that the great and essential doctrines of the gospel were neglected, if not opposed, by too many of the ministers of that Connection. These doctrines he considered it his duty and his privilege to maintain in the most explicit and earnest manner, and to endeavour to induce

his friends to act the same manly part. So early as December 10, 1763, he thus addressed his fellow-labourer, Mr. Thompson: "I preached at Lincoln last Lord's day, three times, to a very great crowd of rude people. The friends there are very desirous that you would come and preach to them; and I am ready to desire the same. I think it might be of use. I believe there are some good people there, though I cannot take in their notions. I thought things were bad, in those respects, when I saw you; but I have since had abundant reason to think so. The many strange notions that some of our friends have imbibed, have almost astonished me. And, alas! what makes the case more deplorable, I doubt these destructive principles get ground. O! how every lover of the Lord Jesus Christ should fight against them with all his might. Let me, as a brother, intreat you to deal faithfully with them. O how easy is it to be led into a method of man-pleasing. Let us beware of it, and remember that we are the servants of God. Come, my brother, let us not fear man; but speak freely. Our souls, and the souls committed to us, are at stake. Let us never forget that, as things now are, the law should be considered as a covenant of works under which we all are by nature, and as a rule of life to believers. Let us endeavour to pull down the pride and rouse the spirits of degenerate man, by discovering its inflexibility and proving that it cannot admit of the least failure. This, I suppose, will teach sinners the necessity of coming to Jesus Christ for righteousness. Let us oppose, as much as the scripture does, if it may be, that master-piece of all the schemes that ever were hatched in hell—'that God will accept sincere, though imperfect obedience, and accept us on account of it.' A scheme which, while it pours the utmost dishonour upon the merits of the blessed Jesus, is attended with the most pernicious consequences to poor souls." Such was the decided tone in which Mr. T. addressed his associate, soon after their first acquaintance; and longer observation confirmed him in his views of the importance of these disputed doctrines. His correspondent shared his sentiments, and though of a temper less intrepid than his friend, was equally sincere in his opposition to the tenets against which he exclaimed, and earnest in his efforts to maintain what both esteemed to be the great truths of christianity.

The discussions to which this important difference of opinion

naturally led, had a most unhappy tendency to render the meetings of the ministers discordant and unprofitable. At the period of which we now treat, the associations and conference had indeed become scenes of heat and contention; and it appeared to every judicious observer, that a separation was the only practicable mode of restoring peace. Though Messrs. Taylor and Thompson were strongly attached to several of the Lincolnshire brethren, and very reluctant to leave them; yet, after having for several years endeavoured, without success, to bring the majority to their sentiments, they felt it necessary, in order to preserve themselves from the contagion of what they esteemed dangerous heresy, and to evince a consistent regard to truth, to act with decision. They therefore resolved to withdraw themselves entirely from the Lincolnshire Association, and the London General Assembly; and to establish a New Connection of such as could cordially unite in supporting the same truths, and preaching the same gospel. These intentions were communicated to the midland churches, with an invitation to assist in concerting means for carrying their designs into effect. As several ministers in Lincolnshire professed themselves of Mr. T.'s sentiments on the points in debate, they also were invited to co-operate in this attempt; but, either through fear of the evils of division, or attachment to those with whom they had long been united, they declined the proposal. A provisional meeting was however held at Lincoln, about Michaelmas, 1769, which was adjourned to May, 1770, when Messrs. Taylor and Thompson met at the same town, and were joined by nine ministers from the churches in Leicestershire and the adjoining counties. The meeting was harmonious, and a plan was formed and cordially adopted for carrying into effect the proposed union, in London, at the ensuing Whitsuntide.

Their old friends were not unconcerned spectators of this defection, nor inactive in endeavours to prevent it: being extremely unwilling to lose such useful associates. Mr. Boyce, as messenger of the churches, was more particularly concerned, and felt much interested on the occasion. He had treated Mr. T. with great friendship, entertained a high opinion of his abilities and a great respect for his character; and was therefore very desirous of preserving his co-operation. Every method was adopted by this worthy minister to produce satisfaction in

the mind of his young friend respecting the subjects in dispute. Several stated conferences had been held for the express purpose of discussing them, and every opportunity of occasional conversation seized with avidity. Finding that all these means had not produced the desired effect, Mr. Boyce now commenced a laboured investigation by letter; and, in the former part of this year, four or five long epistles were written by each party. In these letters, Mr. B. did not rest his cause wholly on the strength of his arguments; but availed himself of every topic of persuasion to induce Mr. T. to lay aside his design of separating. He extenuated the points in which they differed, magnified the subjects on which they agreed, painted in glowing colours the probable mischiefs that would be the effect of division, and the great advantages of continuing to act in concert; and used every art to interest the feelings in his favour. One of the letters concludes in these soothing terms: "Do, my brother, carefully weigh and seriously consider the vast importance of peace and unity, and whether there be a sufficient reason for the separation now in agitation. I have so much confidence in your honesty, uprightness and integrity, that, I am persuaded, you will not encourage or abet the least thing that has the least appearance of, or tendency to hurt and divide the churches, dishonour our glorious Lord and Head, and wound and grieve the minds of many who are upright in heart. If once we begin to divide and separate, away fly love and christian affection; shyness, indifference, and evil-surmisings enter in and make way, not to bring us nearer, but to keep us at a greater distance one from another. O heaven! can we come there? How can it be? How unprepared for that community! We all pretend we contend here for truth. What is truth? A most interesting and important question. O Lord, direct us in thy truth. Guide us in the paths of peace. Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied among all the brethren in Christ Jesus. I remain, your friendly, peaceable and loving brother in the Lord, G. BOYCE." To another epistle, the good man subjoins this affectionate postscript. "You do not tell me whether you intend to come to the next association. Pray, come. I desire you to come; and bring with you a heart full of love and peace; and may the God of love and peace be with you, and remain with you, and with us all for ever. Remember you are appointed to preach.

And if God be pleased to bring you among us, pray do you bring with you a true gospel, conciliating sermon."

But though Mr. T. had then a respect for Mr. Boyce which bordered on veneration, and felt "his heart full and pained" at doing any thing that might grieve him; yet he remained unmoved. He conceived that the honour of his Redeemer, and the prosperity of his cause, were involved in the event; and therefore laid aside all personal considerations. To all the affectionate appeals of his esteemed correspondent he calmly answered : "I am not able to apprehend the pertinency of all you have said on the subject of separation; unless it can be proved that a separation from a connection with others argues a want of love in those who withdraw towards those they withdraw from. To join with any one in such a connection as that we now discourse of, because we love him; or to withdraw from him for the contrary, is a low and carnal manner of acting, and quite unworthy of a minister of Christ." He then frankly stated his reason for withdrawing. "It is not to be doubted, if we regard the Bible, that some of the vilest errors are, in this age, maintained by some of the General Baptists, with as much warmth as they have ever been by any party of men in former ages. It behoves us therefore to take the alarm; and, with all the little might we have, to militate against those pernicious tenets which our fore-fathers so much abhorred, and the word of God so expressly condemns." Hence it is evident, that a deep sense of duty to God, and a sincere attachment to what he esteemed his truth, induced this conscientious minister to leave a connection, to many members of which he was affectionately attached, and with whom he continued long afterwards to cultivate a friendly intercourse.

At Whitsuntide, Mr.T. took the proposed journey to London, and met his friends, on June 6, at Mr. Brittain's Meeting-house. In prosecuting the object of their meeting, a great part of the labour devolved on him. He was delegated, with two others, to wait on the General Assembly, which was then sitting, in order to explain the reasons of their secession, and take a friendly leave. On the following morning, he delivered a discourse to his new associates, from *2 Tim i. 8.* "Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord." In the afternoon, they proceeded to business, and Mr. Taylor was called to the chair,

an honour which was conferred on him by every succeeding annual association, with one exception, to the year of his decease. A number of Articles of Faith, which, at the request of his brethren, he had prepared, were read and approved; and various regulations were adopted for conducting the proposed union. Thus was completed a design which had for some time engrossed his chief attention, and laid near his heart; and in the accomplishing of which he was, under Providence, the principal instrument. And throughout his future life, he always stood ready to devote his labour, his influence, his talents and his property, to the promotion of the prosperity of the *New Connection of General Baptists*.

When Mr. Boyce and his friends saw the separation which they had so warmly opposed carried into effect, they took offence; and said that Mr. T. ought to have waited longer out of gratitude, for the countenance which he had received from the Lincolnshire Association. This insinuation touched his generous soul; and in a letter to Mr. Thompson, he thus warmly repels it. “Have they some separate interest to maintain opposite to that of God? If they have, I have received more, infinitely more favours from God than from them. If their’s is only the Lord’s interest, and if I am serving the Lord still, wherein am I ungrateful to them? I am ready to own my obligations to them on all proper occasions; but, as I am so infinitely obliged to my heavenly Friend, I ought more especially to manifest my gratitude to him for his love to me, by contending earnestly for the faith which he has once delivered to the saints. This, it is evident, I could not do, either peaceably or consistently, in the Lincolnshire Connection. I hope I shall always be ready, according to my ability, to make suitable returns and manifest unfeigned gratitude to Mr. Boyce and to all the Lincolnshire ministers and churches; and perhaps wish as heartily to see a happy union, well founded and established, among all the General Baptists, and shall be as ready to contribute to it, as any other.”

Mr. T. was at this time very popular as a preacher, especially in the midland counties. On his return from London, this year, notice had been given that he would preach one evening at Loughborough; but being unacquainted with it, he did not arrive till Mr. Donisthorpe had nearly finished the service. A vast

crowd which had collected to hear him, were greatly disappointed, and insisted on his preaching the next morning, at eight o'clock, when a large congregation assembled, though the hour was so early and the notice so short. In the evening, he preached at Castle Donington to great multitudes: people walking with eagerness ten or sixteen miles to hear him. He was not indeed backward to gratify them; but yielded readily to their entreaties. In another journey this year, he preached at Diseworth on the Lord's day morning, at Kegworth in the afternoon, and at Packington in the evening; on Tuesday evening, at Hinckley; on Wednesday, at Longford; on Thursday, at Barton; on Friday, at Hugglescote; on Saturday, at Hallum and Smalley; on Lord's day at Quorndon, Loughborough and Leak; and on Monday, at Kirkby Woodhouse. This is a fair specimen of his usual rate of labour, when on his preaching excursions, which generally took place thrice, if not four times, in the course of a year.

The cause of religion at Wadsworth appears to have gained ground this year. In the beginning of April, four persons were baptized; amongst whom was his brother John. It afforded him great pleasure to see this brother, for whom he had always shewn a particular affection, become, to use his own expression, "a serious General Baptist." And as this convert soon was called forth to exercise his gifts in preaching, it strengthened the hands of the pastor, and greatly encouraged him in his incessant exertions to spread the gospel. These exertions, indeed, took him so often from his own congregation, that some of them began to murmur. But previous to his leaving them, on his journey to London, he gave them an exhortation on the subject, which appears to have produced good effect. They met together on the Lord's day; when none of the members, and not above two or three of the usual hearers, were out of their places. A letter was read from their affectionate pastor, and Mr. Parker and Mr. J. Taylor conducted the service so much to the satisfaction of the friends, that they assured Mr. T. on his return, they should not again be so much afraid of his leaving them on the Lord's day. Encouraged by this circumstance, and anxious to seize every opportunity of promoting the cause of religion, he formed a meeting among a few of his younger friends, for the exercise of ministerial gifts. Several persons met weekly for prayer and expounding the scriptures, and once a month they

had an interview with their pastor for advice and instruction. These means produced happy effects, and several young ministers were, in a short time, called to the sacred work.

1771. In this year, Mr. T. pursued his great work among his own people with diligence and success. In a letter to Mr. B. dated August 20, he gives this account of his engagements, " You little know how busy I am in caring for a numerous, increasing and scattered people, some of them above sixteen miles distant ; and a family with three small children. I often preach seven, eight, or nine times a week ; and, blessed be God ! I have good evidence that it is not in vain. I have baptized five since I saw you, and some others are about offering themselves." Soon afterward these enquirers came forward, and in October, six of them were received into fellowship.

The poverty of his congregation and the augmented demands of his family, made it necessary for him to seek for some means of improving his income. With the advice of his friends, he opened a shop, in addition to his school. This increased his cares and occupied his time ; but it does not appear that it added much to his income. His attention was too much engrossed with the religious and literary concerns in which he was constantly engaged, to be at leisure for the details of trade ; and his own unsuspecting honesty and openness of disposition, exposed him to the petty impositions of the unprincipled.

About this time he appears to have been very busy in literary pursuits. He read many voluminous works with great attention ; and collected a Hymn Book for the use of the New Connection, which he published the following year. His abilities and character were now so highly esteemed amongst his friends, that he was considered as the champion of the common cause against every attack. About this time, Mr. B. Dobell, the pastor of the church at Cranbrook, in Kent, published a pamphlet, intitled, " The Scriptural Plan of Salvation by Jesus Christ," in which he advanced the opinions respecting faith, justification, &c. against which Mr. T. and his friends had deemed it their duty to protest. This pamphlet was put into the hands of our author, who immediately drew up Remarks on it, in a letter to a friend, under the signature of *Philalethes*. These Remarks fill eight closely written folio pages ; and exhibit that accuracy of thought,

and knowledge of the scriptures which are so conspicuous in his other controversial writings. They were never printed; but through the kindness of Mr. B. we have been favoured with the original copy, in Mr. T.'s hand writing, and shall probably preserve a specimen of its contents in the Extracts subjoined to this chapter. He also wrote a long letter to Mr. Newton, who had published a "Review of Ecclesiastical History;" consisting of hints and encouragements. This year too he laid the plan and made some progress in composing his "Fundamentals of Religion in Faith and Practice."

In addition to all these avocations at home, Mr. T. took several journeys in the course of this year. In the depth of winter, the close of January and beginning of February, he visited the midland churches, and preached amongst them with his usual frequency and acceptance. In May, he presided at the Association in London, by which he was requested to draw up an explanation and defence of the articles adopted at the first Association, in reply to some objections made against them by Mr. Boyce and his friends. This he accordingly performed, and sent to the Lincolnshire Association. In September, he had the pleasure of entertaining five of the midland ministers and his dear friend Mr. Thompson, at Wadsworth, where a conference was held. This interview afforded him much satisfaction and encouragement.

The resolute stand which Mr. T. thought it to be his duty, at this time, to make against what he esteemed dangerous and fatal errors, and in defence of what appeared to him essential truths, exposed him, not only to the reflections of those whom he opposed, but sometimes drew on him the admonitions of his friends. He had not unfrequently to defend himself from charges of too much stiffness about indifferent things. The following extracts from exculpatory letters, exhibit sufficiently the principles on which he acted, in the arduous struggle in which he was engaged. He observes, in a letter to Mr. Thompson, dated July 27, 1771: "Do not be offended my dear brother, if I humbly note some things contained in yours to me. Be assured I love you dearly. There might be, as you say, 'too much stiffness discovered at London,' &c. This was a fault if it was so. But I think it was not about 'indifferent things.' If you refer to brother F.'s case, surely it is not indifferent whether

believers or unbelievers are baptized and admitted into church fellowship. What can be more important? Besides, you know we must agree in something; and we made our articles a test of agreement. Now, besides many expressions in them which I cannot reconcile with brother F.'s sentiments, you will allow that it is absolutely contrary to the whole tenor and design of the sixth article. How then could we with safety admit of it?"

"I think some things which might be thought trifles at London may lay a foundation for important consequences. As the truth of the gospel is the instrument of converting sinners, we should be careful to keep it clear. If trouble sometimes attends this, we should endeavour to be patient of labour in it. Perhaps what is *sweetest* for the present is not always of most *profit*. Meanwhile I pray that God may enable us to see eye to eye! and remember, good brother, a foundation is now laid."

In another letter to the same correspondent, dated September 4, 1771. he observes, "I assure you, dear brother, you do not seem too catholic for me in what you say about Messrs. Watts, Doddridge, Hervey, Venn, Whitfield, &c. &c. &c. I pray God give you and myself a large increase of *christian* candour. Yet there is need to beware lest we forget not only the certainty but the *importance* of the leading truths of the gospel; as well as that uprightness of mind which will assuredly be the effect of genuine faith. But, blessed be God! the time is coming—is coming fast, when we shall know even as we are known. O blessed day indeed! when darkness shall be expelled for ever,"

1772. In the former part of this year, Mr. T.'s health was, as he expresses it, "feeble," yet his exertions in his sacred work were unabated. In addition to his usual avocations, he this year engaged in two important debates. The Socinians were then very busily disseminating their doctrines in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In a letter under date of March 20, 1772, Mr. T. informs his friend Mr. B.—"The opposition now made to the doctrines of the gospel, in these parts, is very dreadful; especially by Dr. Priestley, of Leeds, and Mr. Graham, of Halifax; two of the most learned and artful men in our country. Dr. Priestley is the person addressed in my verses under the name of *Clemens*. He has published several small pieces, which, with unparalleled contrivance, he has caused to be spread

over, I believe, most parts of England.” This zeal in the one party roused their opponents to action. The same methods were adopted to defend the truths of christianity that were used in attacking them; and various penny and two-penny tracts were printed and circulated in defence of the Divinity and Atonement of Christ. Mr. T. was too warmly interested in the subjects of debate to remain long an unconcerned spectator of the combat. Fearing lest, in the heat of the controversy, the practical importance of the doctrines should be overlooked, he published, under the assumed name of *Philagathus*, “A Practical Improvement of the Divinity and Atonement of Jesus, attempted in verse; humbly offered as a *Supplement* to the Tracts lately published by Mr. Cayley, the Rev. Mr. Morgan, Verus and Biblicus.” The short Preface describes the nature and design of the work so justly, that we transcribe it. “The author of the following lines neither designed that they should be, nor pretends that they are, properly argumentative. The proof of the glorious doctrines of the Divinity and Atonement of our blessed Lord, at least as far as is necessary for the unlearned and the poor, may be found in the tracts mentioned in the title page. It is only designed here to point out, in some faint manner, the importance and excellency of these doctrines; lest they should be, as they too often are, esteemed matters of little weight, and only speculative notions; whereas they yield the richest consolation to the believer, and should be esteemed by him, more valuable than all the treasures of the Indies—than all worlds. The author pretends to little skill in poetry, as it is a subject on which he seldom employs a single thought. Therefore let nothing here be expected to please the critic. He has paid little attention to method; but has put down his thoughts as they occurred. If any pleasing impression be made on the mind of the simple honest reader, that he love the truth more ardently and abide by it more firmly, to his own edification, and the praise of the dear, *dear IMMANUEL*, it will be a cause of joy and pleasure to

PHILAGATHUS.”

Notwithstanding this modest account, there are some passages in the tract which, for warmth of thought and sublime simplicity of language exceed any other production of the author that has fallen under our notice. The humble, affectionate and fervent worshipper of the Lamb that was slain, appears in every line;

and this well-timed publication must, we think, have had a very salutary effect. The subject is opened thus:

" Immortal Spirit! breathe, a worm implores:
 Assist to sing the Name that heaven adores!
 The dear *Immanuel's* name, who on the tree
 Suffer'd and bled for wretched worms like me;
 I sing his names, his works, his power, his love,
 Extoll'd by all the radiant host above.
Jehovah is his name—the source of life,
 Let all that live join in a sacred strife.
 Let holy emulation fire our souls,
 To spread his fame far as the distant poles:
 Let all in heav'n and earth as one conspire;
 Infants shall lisp, and Gabriel tune his lyre.
 Our tongues he form'd: our tongues shall speak his praise.
 Our breath he gives: let each his honour raise.
 O! were we skill'd in more harmonious lays."

This however was rather observing the manœuvres of the combatants, than actually joining in the contest; but it was not long before our author became more directly engaged. Mr. Graham, of Halifax, preached before the "dissenting clergy" at Leeds," September 18, 1771; and took that opportunity of attacking the opinions generally denominated orthodox, and their abettors, with considerable warmth, and too much bitterness. He afterwards published the discourse under the title of "Repentance the only Condition of final Acceptance." This sermon was put into the hands of Mr. T. soon after it was published, and he thought it his duty to notice it. Accordingly in the ensuing February, he published "The Scriptural Account of the Way of Salvation. In two Parts:" a pamphlet containing more than 100 pages 12mo. It consisted of an *Appeal* to the conscience of every reader respecting some important doctrines of scripture; and a free *examination* of Mr. Graham's Sermon in a letter addressed to that gentleman. The former, with fidelity and affection, presses on the consideration of every rational creature, the condemned state of man by nature—his utter inability to deliver himself from that state—the divinity of Jesus, the only Saviour—the atonement which he has made for the sins of all mankind—and the manner in which the sinner may become interested in this Saviour. In the Letter to Mr. Graham, our author animadverts very freely, but very res-

pectfully, on the dangerous tendency of some of that gentleman's sentiments—the insufficiency of the arguments by which they are defended—and the unjust and illiberal manner in which he treats those who oppose him.

Though Dr. Priestley and his followers had not then perhaps assumed the modest designation of "Rational Christians," yet they valued themselves highly on the rationality of their system of divinity. Mr. Graham had boldly asserted, that "the scheme of justification by faith carried so much absurdity upon the face of it, as an honest man, and indeed a man of common sense, would be ashamed to father upon the christian religion." This heavy charge Mr. T. examines at considerable length; and though he disapproved of settling religious disputes by reason, which he thought should rather be decided by the authority of Revelation; yet, unwilling that any of his sentiments should be represented as repugnant to common sense, he meets his antagonist on his own ground; and discusses, by way of query, the true use of reason in matters of religion, and its application to the points in debate. This part of the work exhibits the author in a new character. On former occasions, he had shewn himself a scribe well instructed in the word of God, and had successfully wielded that sword of the Spirit; but here he appears an able logician and acute metaphysician. The whole discussion is peculiarly interesting, and well worthy of being preserved; but its length forbids its insertion in these memoirs; and it cannot be abridged without injury. We therefore transcribe a short passage from another part, as a specimen of the spirit and style of the work.

"Your remark, in the same page, on our Saviour's conference with the woman of Samaria, *John iv.* seems very notable. 'Under the metaphor of water,' you say, 'and its aptness to quench thirst, our Lord recommends religious character as what alone can gratify man's nobler powers, and prepare him for that endless life which he brought to light.' *Religious character*, Sir!—gratify man's *powers*?—his *nobler powers*?—this *alone* gratify them?—this *prepare him* for endless life?—this *alone* prepare him? What! the Father, nothing? the Son, nothing? the Holy Ghost, nothing? 'Grace'—'blood'—'ransom'—'propitiation'—'sacrifice'—'bearing our sins'—'suffering for our sins'—'redemption through his blood'—'complete in him'—'made a curse for us'—'made sin for us,' &c. &c. &c. all nothing?

neither gratify man's nobler powers, nor prepare him for endless life? What! do no part of either? *religious character ALONE* do both? Well, Sir, I remember that you are my superior; and it is perhaps, at present, as well that you are. Yet give me leave to ask, Do you really think, that all which the sacred writers have recorded concerning 'rejoicing in the Lord,' 'being made glad with the light of his countenance'—'rejoicing in his mercy'—'his righteousness'—'his salvation,' &c. must all be included in being gratified with religious character? Does all they say about 'joy and peace in believing'—'Christ dwelling in the heart by faith'—'the Spirit dwelling in them'—'the love of God shed abroad in their hearts'—'tasting that the Lord is gracious'—'rejoicing in Christ Jesus and having no confidence in the flesh;' with almost numberless expressions of the like kind; does all this extend to nothing more than gratification by religious character? Does not the apostle assure us that 'God makes us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light'—'that he who works in us for this self-same thing is God?' *Col. i. 12, 2 Cor. v, 5.* And shall we so metamorphose words and things, as to make God and religious character the same? I ask again, Where does our Lord recommend religious character in the light you speak of? Surely the passage you refer to, in *John iv.* contains nothing like it. Religious character, if I understand the words, (though I own, in the connection in which you have placed them they appear to me a little uncouth) must either mean something we possess or perform, or by which we are distinguished. Must we then drink this water which Jesus speaks of out of ourselves? Does he not call it 'the water that *I* shall give him?' And would it not have been more just to have referred us to the parellel place, *John vii. 3—9*, where we are told, that the water which Christ gives is the Spirit; that is, the Holy Ghost, which every believer receives from him to comfort, refresh and support his mind, as water does the animal frame? It would be no hard matter, I believe, to shew what kind of *nobler powers* are gratified by religious character, and by that *ALONE*; but that I at present waive."

Mr. G. had asserted that "the doctrine of the atonement" was not known nor believed in the world till many hundred years after our Lord and his apostles had left it." To this Mr. T. replies by transcribing the testimonies of Barnabas, Clemens of

Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and other ancient fathers, full to the point: and concludes the argument thus: “ I am quite confident that this doctrine has, in the substance of it, been maintained in all ages of christianity, and will be to the end of time.”—“ As I pretend not to any considerable knowledge of the ancients, perhaps others more acquainted with these writings, may think of passages much more pertinent. The import of these yourself, Sir, and the reader will consider at your leisure.” What he has produced however is fully sufficient for the purpose; and proves his acquaintance with those authors to have been, considering his circumstances, very extensive.

The other controversy in which Mr. T. engaged this year, was on the subject of mixed communion. Messrs. Turner, of Abingdon, and Ryland, of Northampton, had published “Reasons” in favour of this practice, under the signatures of *Candidus* and *Pacificus*. These Reasons, Mr. Birley had sent to Mr. T. with a request that he would favour him with some observations on them. After repeated solicitations, our author sent a number of remarks, which his friend soon after published in a neat pamphlet, entitled “Candidus examined with Candor, &c. by Philalethes.” When some of these tracts were sent to the author, he thus addressed the publisher, in a letter, dated Nov. 17, 1772. “ Yesterday I received your parcel. It is no wonder that the work is incorrect. I only gave you a rough draught of my first thoughts on the subject; nor did I so much as transcribe the copy. I merely designed it as a few leading thoughts, which, if you pleased, you might further pursue; and expunge, retrench, enlarge or destroy, at your pleasure; but not in anywise as fit for the press as it was. However, printed it is! may it do some service. Leisure for accurate thought I have not. I find patience and submission very necessary; yet I have much to be thankful for. Lord! help me. I am indeed a poor helpless creature, and much of my life of little use.”

A work, published under such circumstances, is privileged from criticism. Though it possesses little of that display which has rendered some recent works on the same subject very popular; yet, it is presumed, that to the honest christian, who wishes to make his Bible the guide of his conduct, it will be satisfactory. The author assumes, that our only rule for admit-

ting persons to the privilege of church members, is the New Testament; in which he contends there is neither precept nor example in favour of unbaptized persons being admitted to communion at the Lord's table. On this principle he defends the practice of the strict baptists; and answers the objections of those who blame their consistency.

Mr. T. presided at the Annual Association, at Loughborough, June 3 & 4, and preached from *Dan.* xii. 13. It was thought advisable that a circular letter should be addressed from this meeting to the churches; and the chairman was requested to prepare one, during the continuance of the assembly. This he accomplished with his usual promptitude; and his performance received the sanction of his brethren. From Loughborough he went to Bessell's Green, in Kent, whither a few of the southern churches had sent their representatives, on the 10th and 11th of the same month. Here also he read his circular, and it was approved. It was soon afterwards printed and dispersed. In this epistle, the brethren were earnestly and affectionately exhorted to look to and depend on Christ—to attend diligently to his ordinances—to frequent and faithful examination—to peace, unity and order—to a circumspect walk and conversation—to avoid the love of the world, &c.

Towards the close of this year, Mr. T. took another journey, which occupied him three weeks, and returned to his friends again about the middle of November. He likewise continued his exertions to spread the gospel in his own neighbourhood. At this time he had pushed his attempts to a considerable distance on several sides. He had, for some time, preached occasionally at Queenshead, a wild and uncultivated place, nearly destitute of religion, eleven miles eastward of Birchcliff, and had made such a progress as encouraged him, in conjunction with his brother John, to establish regular preaching there in November this year. His brother preached at Queenshead three Lord's days in the month, and Mr. D. Taylor the fourth; when the former supplied for him at Birchcliff. "Mr. D. T.'s labours," in the expressive words of his coadjutor, "to found the general baptist cause at Queenshead are not to be described, and almost incredible; he rejoiced and laboured surprisingly to accomplish this object." Nor did he confine his attempts to this station; but seized with avidity, and occupied

with indefatigable diligence, every opening which Providence presented to him to prosecute his grand design, and to spread the good news of salvation into every dark corner of that then benighted country.

No sooner had Mr. J. Taylor begun to be regularly engaged in the work of preaching, than he and his brother appointed stated interviews for mutual conference, advice and prayer, respecting their ministerial labours and duties. This laid the foundation of what was afterwards called the "Preacher's Meeting;" and has lately been denominated the "Yorkshire Conference:" an institution which has materially assisted in supporting and regulating the General Baptist interest in that district.

These persevering endeavours at home, and his frequent journeys to distant parts, obliged him often to leave his own flock to be supplied by the young preachers. Many of his friends, participating in his views and rejoicing in his success, submitted to this privation with cheerfulness. A few, however, were dissatisfied; yet, hoping that their pastor would at length tire himself out, and confine his labours to his own charge, they suppressed their complaints. But observing no symptoms of languor in this active minister, and finding that every year his views extended, they concluded that the prospect of any suspension of his exertions, as long as his health and strength continued, was visionary, and broke out, about this period, into open murmurs. The peace of the church was, for a time, interrupted; but a few of the most discontented withdrawing, an end was put to the opposition, and Mr. T. left to pursue his favourite object without controul.

1773. The service at Queenshead was continued on the original plan for several months; and Mr. D. T. persevered, with unabated zeal, in his labours to promote this interest. To his efforts principally the friends in that place owed the erection of a meeting-house in the course of the summer of 1773. In order to promote the necessary funds, he took a journey, in July, through the midland churches. He left home on the 9th; on the 11th preached at Melbourn, Packington, and Measham; on the 12th, at Harbury; 13th, at Longford; 14th, at Hinckley; 15th, at Barton; 16th, at Hugglescote; 18th, at Quorndon, Leake, and Loughborough; 19th, at Diseworth; 20th, at

Castle-Donington; 21st, at Kegworth; 22nd, at Smalley and Hallam; and on the 23rd, at Kirby Woodhouse: whence he returned the next day to Wadsworth. In this busy journey, he collected upwards of £65, besides his travelling expences; which probably were trifling, as he was much in the habit of walking.

September 29, Mr. T. preached at the opening of the building, for which he had made such extraordinary exertions, from *1 Kings*, ix. 3. On the following day, his brother John was ordained to the pastoral office over the friends in that place, who had been previously formed into a separate society. On this solemn, and to Mr. D. T. very pleasing, occasion, he delivered an introductory discourse, proposed the questions to the minister and the people, offered the ordination prayer, and addressed the newly-ordained pastor, from *2 Tim.* ii. 15. This charge was distinguished for affection, solemnity, and length; containing, as Mr. Thompson who heard it asserted, six hundred particulars. Well might the young man to whom it was addressed, describe it as “a long and heavy charge.” This was the first time, as far as we have been able to learn, that Mr. T. was engaged in the interesting service of ordination; but we shall find, as we proceed, that he was afterwards frequently called to this sacred part of the ministerial work, and was peculiarly acceptable in it.

In the beginning of the ensuing month, he took a journey into Lincolnshire; and was engaged, October 3d, in the ordination of Mr. Hannath, at Killingholme, when he addressed the people. He arrived at home, October 10th, and resumed his labours with renewed vigour.

In the beginning of June this year, Mr. T. attended the annual association at Melbourn, when his friend, Mr. Thompson, presided, and he acted as moderator. What was the reason why he was not in the chair, on this occasion, might not be easy now to ascertain: probably he waived it in compliment to his bosom friend and fellow labourer. But this was the only instance, in the whole forty-six years that he lived after the formation of the New Connection, in which he did not occupy the chair at the annual association.

1774. We have but little information respecting the subject of this volume during this year. The annual association being

at Wadsworth, lie had no occasion to leave home in order to attend it: and we have no traces of any other journey. About Midsummer he sold off his shop goods, and hired a farm, named Hirst. He took this step with a view to accommodate a few boarders; judging that a boarding school might be a source of profit more congenial to his feelings than trade, for which both his disposition and habits disqualified him. This attempt therefore to increase his finances had been unsuccessful: and, for a time, he was involved in considerable difficulties to raise the necessary supplies for the stocking of his farm, &c. The kindness of his landlord, to whose son he had been made useful when on a bed of death, and his own exertions, crowned with the blessing of heaven, carried him through his embarrassments. He pursued this new engagement, as he did every thing which he undertook, with all his might. He rose early and laboured hard; and the house and grounds soon assumed a very improved appearance. But, amidst all the bustle and engagement of this new scene, he did not forget, that his great work was to understand and teach the truths of christianity. He fitted up a room for his books, of which he had now a good store; and felt most completely at home when retired to his study.

1775. January 9, Mr. T. was engaged at Great Yarmouth, in the ordination of Mr. B. Worship, over the General Baptist Church at that place. He gave the charge to the minister, from *1 Tim.* iv. 1, 2; and Mr. Thompson addressed the people from *1 Thes.* v. 12. Both the discourses were published a few months afterward, in one pamphlet, entitled, "The respective Duties of Ministers and People briefly explained and enforced." Mr. T.'s charge, which occupies two-thirds of the book, consists of plain and faithful descriptions of the duties of a christian pastor, affectionate and practical advice, animating motives to diligence and zeal, and encouraging supports under the difficulties to which that high station exposes its possessor. It need not be added, that this charge is adapted for usefulness: on this subject, Mr. T. could not deliver an useless discourse.

Mr. T. proposed to attend the Lincolnshire Association at Coningsby, in compliance with the request of the ministers who composed it; but his various avocations prevented him from taking that journey. He wrote them a letter, which was read at

that meeting, and caused a considerable sensation. It probably expatiated freely on the mischievous tendency of some of the sentiments which several of the members countenanced; and this appears to have excited improper resentment. "Mr. T.'s letter," says the venerable Mr. Boyce, in a note on the minutes of this association, "occasioned much disorder, and hindered us from carrying on the business of the day as we should have done; and, at present, has made the breach wider than it was before; having filled our minds with trouble and sorrow, instead of joy and peace."

June 7 & 8, Mr. T. attended the Annual Association of the New Connection, at Hinckley, and returned home about the 20th. Soon after his return, fourteen boys were sent from Leicestershire, to be boarded and educated at Hirst. At this time, he had from twenty to thirty day scholars. These, with his family, his farm and his church, must have claimed all his time and attention. We do not, therefore, find him taking any other long journey this year. But he persevered in his exertions to spread the gospel in his own district; and, about this time, preached very frequently at Halifax, where he was very desirous of raising a General Baptist interest. His frequent absence from his own people gave umbrage again to some of the Wadsworth friends, and caused a contention, which retarded the prosperity of religion. The congregations, however, were larger than they had ever been known; and, on the whole, the cause at Wadsworth gained ground.

The increase of his school probably turned his thoughts to the subject of a catechism; as we find him, at this time, repeatedly urging his friend Mr. Thompson to write a good, plain catechism, for the instruction of children and youth. As his friend seems never to have attempted the task, Mr. T. was induced some years afterwards to compose one himself.

This appears to have been a time of peculiar labour. "I am amazingly busy this seed-time," he informs Mr. W. Thompson, March 28. "I have often to labour all day, preach or attend meetings in the evenings, and write in the nights. Last night I was up till near three o'clock this morning making an Errata and a Table of Contents." "We are in the midst of harvest," he tells Mr. B. August 31. "My family is large, my school pretty full, and my only assistant has neither that authority nor

care that I could wish.” To Mr. Thompson he writes in these terms, August 10th, “ I have fourteen boarders come to hand, with a pretty numerous family besides, and sometime to take up with Mr. Ingham, my young assistant, and my son; and the hay harvest having been just at the same time, and above twenty day scholars, sometimes nearly thirty, with every thing to provide for my boarders, and much concern for two pretty large and widely-extended churches, besides the new interest raising at Halifax, must, you will grant, have considerably thronged me. You can hardly think how I have been employed since I saw you; and have had many letters to write to correspondents whom I could not deny.” Perhaps the confusion and incoherency in the style of this extract, furnish the best illustration and proof of the truth of its contents.

This year our author published his principal work, which appears to have cost him much thought and labour. He had, in a course of fifty sermons to his own congregation, gone through a sort of system of divinity, and handled the principal subjects of revealed religion. The idea of publishing the substance of these discourses naturally suggested itself to the author, and was encouraged by his hearers, and his friend Mr. Thompson. The first hint of this design which we have discovered, is in a letter to Mr. B. dated October 5, 1771, “ A Treatise,” he observes, “ on some principal subjects in divinity is in some likelihood of being some time published, if ever poor, poor D. T. is able to prepare it for the press. Brother Thompson is, I suppose, procuring subscriptions for the printing of it, who has taken a copy of the contents into Lincolnshire. But alas! little of it is yet in proper order, and whether ever it will be, God only knows.” In the beginning of the year following the proposals for printing it by subscription were published, at the close of his ‘ Scriptural Account of the Way of Salvation.’ But his other engagements caused the work to proceed slowly, and it was not till towards the close of 1774, that the manuscript was completed. He was anxious to submit his production to some competent judge, and to avail himself of his advice and corrections. With this view, he sent the copy to Dr. Stennett, who, for some years had expressed a high regard for our author. But his expectations from that gentleman were totally disappointed. “ My manuscript returned from Dr. Stennett yester-

day," he writes to Mr. Thompson, November 16, 1774, "but, to my great surprise and grief, though he has had it three months, and stopped the press several weeks, I find not one remark made by him of any kind whatever. Thus, it appears, I must publish again, without the assistance and inspection of any one friend, except the general advices which you were kind enough to give me at first. This is very discouraging indeed, and greatly oppresses my spirits. Lord, direct me for thine own honour."

It was at last published; and in a Dedication, dated March 4, 1775, inscribed "to his dear brethren in Wadsworth, as a small token of that sincere and undissembled affection which his heart felt and his relation and office demanded towards them all." In this dedication he apologizes thus for the delay in publishing. "Through a great number of unforeseen incidents, and by reason of the multiplicity and variety of concerns to which my situation and connections oblige me to attend, and with which *you* are not wholly unacquainted, this work has been delayed much longer than I at first intended, or many of my friends would expect. For this I am heartily sorry, and I here entreat their excuse and pardon. I believe those who best know me, will not be forward to accuse me of allowed indolence; and those who candidly consider the uncertainty of all human affairs, and the importance of writing for the public, will perhaps be inclined to construe this delay in the most favourable light."

The Table of Contents, inserted in the margin,* will afford the reader sufficient information respecting the important subjects

* CONTENTS. *Chap. I.* The Character and Perfections of God. *Chap. II.* The State of Man before Sin entered into the World. *Chap. III.* Of the Moral Law, and its suitableness to the primitive State of Man. *Chap. IV.* On the Fall of Man, and his natural Propensity, as fallen, to deviate from the Moral Law and his Inability to keep it. *Chap. V.* The Sinner arraigned and condemned by the Law of God. *Chap. VI.* This condemned State proved to be the State of all Men by Nature. *Chap. VII.* An Inquiry concerning several Ways of obtaining Salvation which Men often propose to themselves. *Chap. VIII.* The Way of Salvation illustrated:—1. God's Love to the World in sending his Son: 2. The Divinity and Atonement of Christ: 3. The Fulness and Freeness of Salvation: 4. The Language and Manner of Expression by which the Scriptures exhibit Salvation to Mankind: 5. The Way in which Sinners come to the Enjoyment of this Salvation. *Chap. IX.* The Scripture Account of Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. *Chap. X.* The genuine Effects of Faith in Jesus Christ. *Chap. XI.*

discussed in this volume: and the author himself, in the Dedication, has clearly, though briefly described the manner in which he has endeavoured to treat them.

“ As I have kept in view, especially the advantage of the illiterate and persons of inferior capacities, I have made it my great concern to write with plainness and simplicity. Had I been ever so much master of a learned style, or could I have adorned my page ever so richly with the figures and tropes of oratory, or with nice criticisms and learned disquisitions, I should have thought these very improper on the present occasion. These have therefore been avoided as much as I thought consistent with doing justice to the truths of God. If it appeared necessary to suggest any hints which might rise above the capacity of the meanest reader, it is generally thrown into the margin; so that he need not perplex himself with it. I hope it will appear throughout, that I have laboured to make every truth I have treated, clear to the understanding, accompanied with its own native evidence from the oracles of infallible truth.”

The author has, in a laudable degree, accomplished his design, and treated these important subjects with plainness and perspicuity, and, at the same time, with a serious earnestness. The language is natural, manly and chaste; wholly unadorned, but often very impressive. But what principally distinguishes this performance, is the implicit and reverential regard paid to the dictates of Revelation, in discussing these momentous, awful and sometimes mysterious subjects. No conjectures are indulged, no mere reasoning employed, either to establish or illustrate any position. The whole is built on the oracles of truth, and affords a beautiful and instructive exemplification of the excellent advice which the author addressed to Mr. Worship. “ Always give full scripture proof of what you assert; and let all you urge as matter of duty be accompanied with the sanction of divine authority. Let ‘ thus saith the Lord’ be your sole and

The Nature, Extent, Means of, and Motives to, Evangelical Holiness. *Chap. XII.* The Christian’s Treasure opened. *Chap. XIII.* Encouragements and Advices to true Christians. *Chap. XIV.* A short View of Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. *Chap. XV.* An Address to the careless Sinner, the awakened Sinner, the self-righteous Person, the mere notional Professor, the lukewarm Professor, and the real Believer.

your constant warrant in every part of faith and practice. ‘ I assert;’ ‘ it is my opinion;’ ‘ it must be allowed;’ ‘ it is commonly supposed;’ &c. are too slender and feeble arguments where souls and immortality are in question. You will rather faithfully study and diligently adhere to your Bible; consider that as a rich storehouse of sacred intelligence; and continually refer to it, as sufficient authority for all you advance.”

Nearly three hundred subscribers to this work were obtained before its publication; almost one half of whom were from the Lincolnshire churches. The whole impression was sold off in a few years, and it continued for a long time out of print.

1776. This year appears to have been in a peculiar degree occupied at home. His farm, his church and especially his school, employed much of his time. He attended, indeed, the Annual Association at Boston, May 29 & 30, and was appointed one of a committee to prepare some proposals to the Lincolnshire Association, for promoting a re-union. It does not appear that he undertook any other distant journey this year. About Michaelmas, Mr. Thompson pressed him to visit Lincolnshire, to which he replied, September 18. “ I have hardly time to inform you that I do not see how to make it suit to come into Lincolnshire at present. The concerns of religion, my family, farm and school, seem to require my abiding at Wadsworth.”

1777. The education of the youth committed to his care, was viewed by Mr. T. as it will be by every one who conscientiously undertakes it, as a momentous charge. Though so busily engaged in very important religious and literary pursuits, he employed much thought on the proper means of improving their minds and affecting their hearts. He frequently requested his correspondents, who were engaged in the same employment, to give him advice, with an earnestness that evinced his anxious desire to receive it. And his diary contains frequent instances of earnest supplications to the Father of lights, for wisdom and prudence in the discharge of his duty to his pupils. About this period, he compiled and printed several small pieces for their instruction. One was a half sheet intitled, “ A Looking-Glass for Youth;” containing a short but animating account of the efforts made to obtain excellence, in their respective pursuits,

by Demothenes, Virgil and Dr. Doddridge; with the astonishing success which crowned their industry and perseverance: and concluding with an exhortation to similar ardour and diligence. Another tract, intended to assist in the religious improvement of the youthful mind, was also published this year; under the title of "Entertainment and Profit united: or, Easy Verses on some of the chief Subjects of Christianity, for the Use of Children and Youth." These verses, like most of the author's other works, are remarkable for simplicity, plainness and scrupulous adherence to scripture: being little more than paraphrases on important texts, with a hint or two of application. They were well received by the public; and a second edition was called for in a few months. As the *Preface* to the first edition of this tract has been omitted in subsequent impressions, the following extract from it is inserted here, as containing some useful hints on an important and difficult part of education, and exhibiting, probably, the author's own method of conveying religious instruction. "Several passages of scripture are placed at the head of every lesson, which contain and illustrate the leading thoughts of it. The author's advice to parents or teachers is, that the child read over carefully, once or twice, the verses themselves under each head; then turn to the passages in his Bible, prefixed to the verses, and get those passages intirely by heart. Then let the child get the verses under each head by heart also; and let the parent or teacher refer the child to the particular text, or part of text on which each part of the lesson is founded, and explain to him, both the texts of scripture and the verses. Thus, by a very little labour daily, the child will become acquainted with his Bible, in the letter and doctrine of it at once. When the text and doctrine are thus learnt, the teacher may propose such questions to the child, as may occur to his mind under every head; and let the child answer in the very words of scripture, or the words of the verse, or words of the child's own inventing, as the teacher pleases, or, as may suit the child's fancy or capacity. This, I think, is a good method of improving the judgment and memory of children, and of bringing them to a fixed knowledge and lasting remembrance of divine things. And the tender affection which every serious teacher must feel for the children entrusted with him, will certainly dictate to him what improvement and application he ought to make of every subject."

It was probably about this time also that he printed a copy of verses for Christmas-day, which he caused his scholars to commit to memory and repeat, for a small prize, before proper judges. We have not been able to recover a copy of them, but they commenced thus :

“ I hear ‘tis matter of learned contention
At what time our Saviour appear’d ;
And when, as a pattern of great condescension,
His weeping in Bethlehem was heard.
But let me not puzzle my head with enquiring
The date of this wonder of love ;
But let my whole soul be employ’d in admiring
What brought my dear Lord from above.”

The controversy respecting baptism was this year revived. Mr. Addington, an independent minister, then settled at Market Harborough, Leicestershire, had, some time previous to this date, published a vindication of paedo-baptism, under the title of “ A Christian Minister’s Reasons for baptizing Infants, and for administering the Ordinance by sprinkling or pouring.” This work had been put into Mr. T.’s hand soon after its appearance, with an earnest request that he would reply to it; but he declined the task, through want of leisure and inclination. Dr. Stennett, however, took up the subject, and published an answer. Both these works were large and elaborate; and adapted chiefly to the learned. Mr. Addington, however, printed, soon afterwards, a small tract, which he called “ A Summary of a Christian Minister’s Reasons for, &c.’ As this was likely to find its way into the hands of the poor and illiterate, Mr. T. thought that it required an antidote. He therefore seized the occasion, and reprinted his Humble Essay on Christian Baptism, to which he now subjoined two Letters to Mr. Addington, containing “ Strictures on his Summary of a Christian Minister’s Reasons,” &c. The Essay had been several years out of print, and had become so scarce, that it was with difficulty the author himself now obtained a copy. To this edition he prefixed his name, and an advertisement expressing his wishes, that the controversy, if pursued, might be conducted in a christian spirit. His object is sufficiently explained in a few words in the commencement of the first letter to Mr. A. After mentioning, in terms of approbation, Dr. Stennett’s Reply to “ the Christian Minister’s

Reasons," he adds, " If the Humble Essay, with the few following remarks, should be thought in any degree worthy to supply his lack of service for the lowest of the people, to prevent those pernicious consequences which I am persuaded your late publications are calculated to produce, I shall think myself happy in having presented them to the world."

The Strictures are written with the confidence of a man who feels conscious that he stands on firm ground: and some of his remarks are so closely urged, that their weight and edge must have been felt by the gentleman on whom he animadverts. He lays aside that respectful distance and acknowledged inferiority which marked his address to Mr. Graham, and treats Mr. A. with the freedom of a brother minister. After running over what appeared to him to require observation in the "Summary," he concludes with the following friendly and honest advice to the author; which we transcribe, because it may be of great service to all religious disputants, whether by the tongue or the pen.

" I ask your pardon, Sir, if I presume so far as to offer you a word or two of advice, which, if attended to, will, I think, be of service to yourself and your readers; should you think proper to resume this controversy, or to take up any other. I give it, as far as I know, with due respect to your person and character."

" I advise you then, my dear Sir, to read the passages of scripture carefully over, which relate to the subject you are upon; and try to be impartial and divest yourself of prejudice. Consider yourself in the sight of that God who trieth the reins and hearts, and to whom we must quickly give an account of all our thoughts, words and works."

" Do not be positive in asserting without evidence, nor take things for granted without proof; especially things which you know are denied by your opponents. This unnecessarily prolongs the debate, and excites a disposition not the most happy or most honourable to the christian character; and is, in short, unfair, and unworthy of a minister of Christ."

" Do not lead your readers to imagine that your opponents say such things as you know they do not say; nor represent your adversaries knowingly in an unjust light. Make *Matt. vii. 12.* your rule in your treatment of others. This is honourable, and like a man."

"Do not confound the argument and darken the judgment by noise and declamation, or far-fetched remarks; nor put off your readers with possibilities or even probabilities, in the place of certainty and positive evidence; nor impose upon the ignorant with unmeaning or equivocal phrases; but let the world see that you are willing to be thoroughly known, and esteem it an honour to be set right if you are wrong."

"You see, my good Sir, I use the same familiarity I would do, if I had the honour and the great pleasure of your company in my own parlour. I have imagined, however, that these advices were needful while I have run over your Summary; though to avoid offence, I have seldom seemed to observe it."

In the spring of this year, Mr. T. was in Lincolnshire, assisting at the ordination of Mr. H. Poole, and the opening of a new meeting-house at Maltby, where he baptized seven persons, April 16. The other occurrences may therefore be placed within a few days of that date.

In May, our minister attended the Annual Association at Castle-Donington; and was requested to draw up a circular letter on the nature and obligations of church fellowship. At this assembly, certain queries were received from the Lincolnshire ministers, intended to open the way for a re-union. Much discussion ensued, and at length Mr. Taylor was requested to prepare answers to them; and he, with Messrs. Grimley, N. Pickering and Tarratt, were appointed to meet the deputies from the Lincolnshire churches. They accordingly had a conference, at Gosberton, May 27th, with Messrs. Boyce, Proud, Anderson and Thornally: when Mr. T. being chosen chairman, two days were spent in fruitless attempts to adjust the differences between them. On the evening of the first day, Mr. T. preached to a numerous audience.

During this year, Mr. T. was peculiarly engaged in promoting the General Baptist cause in Yorkshire. Anxious to succeed in the attempt at Halifax, he exerted himself strenuously in promoting the building of a new meeting house near that town. He and two others made themselves responsible for all the expences; and were sometimes driven to considerable difficulties. He, however, took several journeys to collect for it; and by his activity and perseverance, the object was accomplished. The place was opened, September 3, 1777; when his brother John

preached in the morning; and he in the afternoon, from *Hag.* ii. 9.

Another meeting-house was erected about the same time, in this district, by the exertions of this indefatigable minister. Very soon after he settled in Wadsworth, he carried the news of salvation to a wild, uncultivated and obscure place, seven miles from Birchcliff, called *Shore*; and, many years before the present date, a few persons had joined themselves to his church from that neighbourhood. When he was the only General Baptist preacher in the country, he frequently traversed the rocks, the bogs and the mire, to preach the gospel at this extremity of the desert; and when others were called to assist in the sacred work, their visits became more frequent. The success of these persevering efforts was as great as could, from circumstances, be expected; and encouraged Mr. T. and his friends to attempt to build a place for public worship. By their exertions, a small edifice was completed, and opened a few weeks before the meeting-house at Halifax, by the same ministers. Thus, in about twelve years, this zealous servant of God had the satisfaction of seeing, as the fruits of his labour, four places erected in his own neighbourhood, by the General Baptists, for the preaching of the gospel. And, what must have greatly heightened his pleasure, the cause at Birchcliff continued to prosper, notwithstanding his various engagements at other places. Fifteen were this year added to the church by baptism; and five restored who had fallen back to the world. The church was harmonious, congregations numerous, and many were soon expected to offer themselves for fellowship.

1778. This year, Mr. T. was deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties. The stocking of his farm and supplying necessary accommodations for his boarders, had called for funds which he had no means of providing. These embarrassments were increased by the expences incurred in building the meeting-houses, especially that at Halifax, for which he was responsible. Sometimes he was ready to sink under the pressure; but, like David, he encouraged himself in the Lord his God! After mentioning some of his difficulties to Mr. B. November 22d he adds, "I believe the Lord will help me through, though my case be dark. If he see proper to correct me, I rejoice in the assurance that

his rod will be the rod of a father; and he will not chastise me above measure. He knows what we are able to bear. This is my comfort."

His exertions to remove these burdens were great. In the course of this year, he took seven journeys to collect for Halifax case. In January, he spent three weeks from home on this business. In February, he employed about the same time in Lincolnshire. In May, he visited the Isle of Axholme, and in four days preached seven times. In June, he attended the Annual Association at St. Ives; and from thence proceeded to London to collect; returning home June 27, after an absence of four weeks. In July and September he paid two other visits to the Isle of Axholme: and in November he went to Maltby; where he assisted at the ordination of Mr. Ingham, on the 4th, to whom he gave a charge from Prov. xxiii. 5, 6.

At the Association, he read the circular letter which, at the request of the preceding meeting, he had prepared, on "the Nature and Obligations of Church Fellowship;" which, after some corrections, was adopted and ordered to be printed. While he abode in London, which was only five days, he transcribed this epistle, had it printed, and sent it off to the different churches.

Notwithstanding his frequent absence from his charge, yet the cause at Birchcliff continued to advance. During this year eleven were admitted to communion, and no more than one excluded. It appears, from Mr. T.'s journal, that, besides all his other labours, he preached, in this year, at least two hundred and ninety times.

Neither toils, embarrassments, nor discouragements, abated his zeal in the cause in which he was embarked. After his return from London, he thus addresses his friend, Mr. Thompson, July 4, "I hope you arrived safe at Boston, hearty and happy; and animated with fresh life and vigour to pursue the great and good work of our God and Saviour. I bless God, I trust I can say, that it is in some measure the effect of my journey with respect to myself. Time is short. Eternity is at hand. A rest remains. Now is the time for labouring. God help us that we may duly improve our precious golden opportunities. May we be eminent in the work of God here; and, though utterly unworthy, high in the kingdom of God hereafter." Such were

the principles on which this worthy minister acted, and which supported him in the most painful anxieties, and through almost incredible labours. “ He had respect to the recompence of reward.”

1779. Previous to the Association this year, Mr. T. went three journeys to visit the churches. In May he presided at the Association, at Longford; and preached from *Acts xxviii. 28.* At this meeting he read the circular which, at the desire of the preceding Association, he had prepared, “ On the Advantages of Associations.” This is an excellent performance; but it is presumed that, in one or two passages, the author uses language more unguarded than he would have done in later periods of his life. It was, however, approved and ordered to be printed. At this assembly he was earnestly requested to compose a catechism for the instruction of children in the principles of religion: which he undertook, and some time afterwards accomplished.

September 15, he visited Barton and Hugglescote, at the earnest request of the friends there; and gave the charge, from *1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4,* to Mr. Samuel Deacon, Jun. who was then ordained pastor over that church. On the same day, several deacons were set apart to their office, whom Mr. T. addressed from *1 Tim. iii. 13.*

Unaffected by the difficulties he had already experienced, he still continued his exertions to introduce the gospel, and found churches in benighted places. For several years he had preached occasionally at Worsthorn, a village near Burnley, a considerable town in Lancashire, eleven miles from Wadsworth. To this town it was now resolved to remove the service. Under date, October 29, 1779, he informs Mr. Thompson: “ A few weeks ago, I have ventured to hire a house in the market-place of Burnley, a town of some note in Lancashire, to preach in. The town is a wretched place; no religion in, or near it, that we know of. The Methodists have made several attempts there, I am told, but have always been beaten out. The Quarter Sessions at Preston being far distant, I wrote to the Bishop of Chester’s court for a licence, and received one a month since: so that I went to open the place on the 10th instant, and intend being there again on the 31st. Brethren Sutcliff and Folds have each been once; and we intend to preach there once every

Lord's day. The room is filled, and the prospect encouraging. I am particularly familiar with a physician and an attorney in the town; which, I think, will be of some advantage." To Mr. Birley he observes: "I have lately hired a house in Burnley to preach in. It is a wretched place. This will increase my expences and labours; but the Lord will help me through."

About this period, Mr. T. was anxious that some provision might be made in the new connection, for the instruction of young men who had been called to the ministry. The idea appears to have been first started, several years previously, in a conversation between him and a poor blind member of his church. The more he thought on the subject, he felt it of greater importance; and was induced to bring it forwards at various associations. The proposal was at first but little regarded; but gradually gained considerable attention. He drew up a plan for the accomplishment of his object; and read it to the ministers at the association, who generally approved of the design; and though it did not receive the sanction of the association, yet several friends entered warmly into his views, and a small subscription was raised. His whole heart appears to have been engaged in this attempt; and he endeavoured to inflame his correspondents with similar ardour. "The fund for the assistance of young ministers," he tells Mr. B. August 6, 1779, "is very likely to increase much. I believe there is ten pounds subscribed, at, and since the association, chiefly in Barton church. I hope you will promote it so far as you are able. The good Lord help us to do the little we can for our precious Saviour, while we live, in this poor dark wicked world."

This year, Mr. Dossey, from Gamston, who had some thoughts of the ministry, spent several months with Mr. T. for the improvement of his abilities. It appears, from Mr. T.'s correspondence, that he was anxiously concerned to promote the knowledge and graces of this young man.

The cause of God at Wadsworth still maintained its prosperity. He informs his friend, Mr. B. August 6: "Things appear to go on well in our congregation—thanks to God. We had never more hearers: I think never so many: and many seem to receive the word heartily; though on this account we are not without complaint. We expect the admission of some soon." Thus it pleased the great Head of the church to suc-

ceed the arduous labours of this indefatigable minister, who, as appears from his journal, delivered more than three hundred and fifty public discourses in the year 1779.

1780. This year Mr. T. was, as usual, actively employed in spreading and defending the truths of the gospel. In the spring he twice visited Lincolnshire; and May 10th. ordained two deacons at Kirton. The Association was at Halifax, at Whitsuntide, but unhappily the minutes of that meeting are lost. In November, he again visited Boston, Kirton, &c. and preached frequently. These hints contain all the information which we have obtained of his active occupation, in 1780.

But his publications prove that he was still busy in his Master's work. The Catechism which, at the request of a former Association, he had undertaken was completed in the beginning of this year, and sent to the ministers, &c. in the midland counties for their perusal. After detaining it sixteen weeks, they returned with the following approbation, which was prefixed to several of the early editions: "We desire leave to recommend the following pages to the careful perusal of all parents, tutors and guardians, under our pastoral care, and of all other parents, tutors and guardians, with whom we have any influence; and advise them to teach the children and youth under their eye the contents of them; and we earnestly pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend them to the present and future advantage of the rising generation." Signed, "N. Pickering, S. Deacon, Sen. F. Smith, J. Grimley, T. Perkins, G. Hickling, and S. Deacon, Jun." It was published in the summer of this year, and has been well received. This work is too well known in the General Baptist churches to render any account of it necessary for them; but, as its sentiments confine it to their use, for the information of others, we insert the *contents* in the margin,* and just hint, that the answers are

* CONTENTS. *Sect. I.* Concerning the Holy Scriptures. *II.* God the Creator and Preserver of all things. *III.* The Perfections of God. *IV.* The Purity of Man in his primitive State. *V.* The Fall of Man. *VI.* The Depravity of Man in consequence of the Fall. *VII.* The Sinfulness of Sin, and the various kinds of Sin. *VIII.* The Necessity and Worth of Forgiveness. *IX.* The Nature and Necessity of Regeneration. *X.* The Helplessness of Man, and his Inability to recover himself from the Fall. *XI.* The Certainty of eternal Misery to those who die unrecovered from their fallen and sinful

generally given in the words of scripture. It has already run through eleven editions.

At the association at Longford, 1779, a case was presented from the church at Kegworth, respecting the sense of our Lord's prohibition, *Matt. vi. 19—21.* "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," &c. After much conversation, Mr. T. and two other ministers, were requested to write their thoughts on the passage, and bring them to the next association. With this request, our author complied. His friend Mr. B. who was not present, requested Mr. T. to favour him with his thoughts on the text; and in compliance with the wishes of his friend, he sent him, in the autumn of this year, three long letters, which were afterwards published under the title of "*An Essay on the right Use of Earthly Treasure.*" In this little piece, the author frankly states, and earnestly defends his opinion, that our Saviour forbids his followers to lay up treasures *for themselves*; that is, as he insists, "in order that they may have a store of treasure of their own, which they are not willing to apply to any purpose for the good of their fellow creatures, or the promotion of religion, when there appears a necessity for it, or it seems to be required in the course of divine providence." He illustrates this proposition from scripture and reason; and endeavours to shew that laying up treasures *for ourselves* is equally inconsistent with the spirit of christianity and the dictates of sound reason. Whatever others may think of his views on this delicate subject, it is certain that they influenced his conduct through life. He spared neither labour nor expence to promote what he esteemed to be the cause of truth: and, on many occasions, sacrificed his worldly interest to the prosecution of this object. His strength, his abilities, his influence and his property, were all devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, and he stood ready, on every occasion, to spend them all for his glory. The expensive, and sometimes distressing exertions, which he made for the building of meeting-houses, and hiring rooms for preaching; his frequent journeys,

State. XII. The Willingness of the blessed God to save poor Sinners. XIII. The glorious Provision which God has made for poor Sinners. XIV. The Freeness of Salvation. XV. The Way to be made partakers of this Salvation. XVI. The Happiness of those who partake of Salvation. XVII. The Misery of unconverted Sinners. XVIII. The Duty of converted Persons. XIX. Baptism and the Lord's Supper. XX. A Scriptural Representation of Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell.

usually at his own expence ; and his amazing bodily exertion, all proved the zeal and sincerity with which he laboured to exemplify his principles by his practice.

As we proceed we shall find him making still greater sacrifices to serve the cause in which he was engaged ; but it may be noticed here, that, as an author, he acted on the same disinterested plan. He sold his publications at so low a price as to leave very slender profits, had the whole impressions been sold ; and he frequently sustained great loss by many copies remaining on hand. The Essay on the right use of Earthly Treasure may itself be mentioned as an instance of the disposition we have ascribed to him. It contains twenty-four closely-printed duodecimo pages : much more letter-press than various modern two shilling pamphlets ; and was sold for *two pence*. His aim was to do good, to propagate the truth, or check the progress of error ; not to lay up treasure for himself.

This year the controversy respecting the extent of the object of the death of Christ, was revived in those parts, with considerable acrimony. It originated between the Independents and the Wesleyan Methodists ; and several pamphlets were published on both sides, which, as Mr. T. thought, disgraced the cause by their scurrility. "He was," he informs his friend, "greatly affected with much of the matter contained in them, but more especially with the manner and spirit in which they were written. Does christianity, does natural religion teach us to render evil for evil, and railing for railing ? Can the language of Billingsgate ornament their page, or give cogency to their arguments ? Can they not state and vindicate the truths of God, unless they adopt the method of Satan, the accuser of the brethren?" Feeling for the honour of religion, which was thus disgraced by her friends, he wished to check the torrent, and "introduce a discussion of the subject in a natural, easy and instructive manner." He therefore sent to the printers of the Leeds Intelligencer, a provincial newspaper much read in those parts, the following letter, which was inserted, August 15, 1780.

"Sirs,—I beg leave, through the channel of your valuable paper, to propose one Query to your ingenious correspondents, viz. What christian writer first maintained, that Jesus Christ, the blessed Son of God, did not lay down his life for the sins of all mankind ? I have read the scriptures more than once ; but I

cannot find it asserted there: and though I do not profess myself an antiquarian, yet, I think, I can venture to affirm, that we have no evidence of a writer in the first centuries abetting this strange opinion. If any of your learned acquaintance will give an answer to the above query, in your paper, they will much oblige, Sirs, your constant reader,

SCRUTATOR."

This Query excited attention, and September 5th, a reply appeared in the same paper, signed *Responsor*. The writer insisted, that the first christian writers who asserted the strange opinion, as Scrutator termed it, were the apostles of Christ; and that that they had learned it of the Old Testament writers, and even of their blessed Master himself. In support of this position, he cited several passages, as *Psalm xxxiv. 22. John x. 11. Acts xx. 28. Rev. v. 9, & xiv. 3, 4.* After repeating these texts, and shortly commenting on them, he concludes with, "Here, I hope, Mr. Scrutator has his query answered." Scrutator, however, did not feel satisfied with this answer; and in a rejoinder, inserted September 19, made his objections to the assertions and conclusions of Responsor: at the same time, expressing his wish for a full answer to his first query. In the following paper, a third party entered the lists, who called himself *Observator*, and roundly told both the parties that he thought their letters were not calculated for much usefulness; advising them, if they chose to continue the debate, to state the question more clearly, that they might instruct and not confuse their readers. To this polite intruder, Scrutator replied; and sent his reply for insertion in the next number, but the publishers thought proper to lay it aside. Probably Observator's remarks had been introduced only to put an end to a controversy, which they thought uninteresting to many of their readers.

Mr. T. who had neither expected nor desired that the subject should be thoroughly discussed in a newspaper, soon after republished, in a penny tract, the whole correspondence, together with his letter to *Observator*, and an introductory letter, explaining the occasion of the Query, addressed to a friend, under the assumed name of *Aequus*. Some time afterwards *Responsor* printed Remarks on *Scrutator's Rejoinder*. To this Mr. T. in the middle of the following year, replied, in a twopenny pamphlet, entitled "*Scrutator to Responsor: or an Introduction to a farther Proof (if need be) that Jesus Christ, the blessed Son*

of God, laid down his life for the sins of all mankind;—in two Letters to *Responsor*: with a short letter to *Considerator*.” In the first of these letters, after praising the temper, abilities, and candour of his opponent, he examines the proofs, which he had produced in favour of his proposition, that the sacred writers assert the limited extent of the atonement made by Christ; and having, as he supposes, shewn that they contain no such doctrine; he concludes thus: “I have twice declared, both to you and the public, that I could not find the doctrine in my Bible. I now declare it a third time. I am persuaded a human writer was the author of it, and not a very ancient one. But the laws of disputation oblige no man to prove a negative. The Bible is open; the writings of all ages are open. If any of the sacred writers, or any ancient ecclesiastical writer, have asserted it, let any man shew the *place* where it is asserted, and I give up the point.”

Responsor it seems, in his animadversions, had challenged *Scrutator* to prove from scripture, that Christ died for the sins of all mankind. *Scrutator* very willingly accepted this challenge; and, in his second letter, undertook the task. Though this doctrine appeared to him “like a golden thread interwoven throughout a great part of scripture;” and therefore many passages afforded evidence equally full and clear, yet he fixed on that remarkable text, 1 *John* ii. 2. “He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” On this he rested the merits of his cause, and shewed at large, that it necessarily contained the truth for which he contended; and that it was contrary to every rule of interpretation and to every dictate of common sense, to give it any other meaning. This pamphlet, we believe, closed the debate.

Previous to this publication, a third person had ventured to interfere in the dispute, and assumed the title of *Considerator*. His work being handed to Mr. T. he addressed a short note to him, at the close of the publication we have just noticed. As it exhibits an instance of the pointed manner in which he could repel officiousness and silence ignorance, it may be worth preserving. It ran thus:

“Sir,—When I had nearly prepared my letters to *Responsor* for the press, your’s was brought to my hand; and I do assure you, it gave me no little concern to find that one of my

fellow-creatures should have so little regard to his reputation, his time, his conscience, and his Bible, as to be capable of taking so much pains to make himself perfectly contemptible. I would not willingly expose you more than may be for your real advantage, and shall therefore avoid making any remarks on your pamphlet. Instead of this, I beg your acceptance of the following advice, viz.—As you are evidently unqualified for polemic writing, I advise you to lay aside the thoughts of it, and to desire your friends no more to abuse you and your cause by putting you upon it. Instead of it, employ your time in reading the plain, practical parts of scripture with simplicity, and prayer for divine illumination; and reduce what you read to those practical purposes which it is designed and calculated to subserve. Should you never be able to defend the truth by the arts of controversy, as it is probable you never will, you may be hereby prepared, under the blessing of God, to honour it by a holy conversation. This is more noble, and will prove much more profitable. That you may, by these methods, be brought to a better temper, and a better judgment, and that you may at last, through the blood of the Lamb, be brought to the regions of everlasting truth and felicity, is the prayer of

Your sincere well-wisher,

SCRUTATOR."

This year Mr. D. Taylor preached two hundred and seventy-eight times.

1781. We have little account of Mr. T.'s engagement during this year; but there can be no doubt that he continued actively employed in promoting the interest of religion. We find him presiding at the Association, at Loughborough, June 6 & 7, when a circular letter, drawn up by him, was read, approved and ordered to be printed. As we have not seen this letter, we are ignorant of its merits.

At this period, Mr. T. was looked up to throughout the New Connection with the greatest deference, and his opinion was considered almost as an oracle. He was consulted on difficult cases, and frequently invited to distant places to settle disputes. At this Association, the church at Longford having proposed some questions respecting marrying with unbelievers, the meeting requested Mr. T. to write an answer to them. And some

time afterwards, the church at Kegworth being thrown into confusion, sent for him to their assistance.

As we have been favoured with a detailed account of this visit, by persons who were present at all the proceedings, we shall insert the leading particulars, as a specimen of the high esteem in which Mr. T. was then held in the churches, and the laudable use which he made of his influence.

Mr. W.— had been for some time an esteemed preacher in the church at Kegworth; of a respectable character and unsullied morals. His natural talents were of a superior order; and he had cultivated them with all the care that his circumstances permitted. He was a man of calm passions, a close reasoner, and remarkably cool in conducting a discussion. When he began to preach, it was understood that he maintained what are usually termed orthodox tenets; but after some time it appeared that, if he had not abjured the doctrines of the depravity of human nature and the divinity and atonement of Christ, he was unwilling to produce them explicitly in his public discourses. This led the more observant of his hearers to fear that his creed had undergone some important change, and their minds became uneasy. Candidly hoping that they had entertained an unfounded suspicion, and being unwilling to give Mr. W. pain, they concealed their fears, till that gentleman himself drew aside the veil, by addressing certain queries to the Leicestershire conference. From these it was evident, that the writer had imbibed the errors of Socinianism; and a general alarm was excited. The worthy men who had founded the General Baptist interest in those parts, considered the doctrines which Mr. W. questioned as the fundamentals of the gospel, and the only ground of hope for sinners. Their feelings were roused, and the conferences, which were then holden monthly, were chiefly occupied with discussions on these topics. A great sensation was produced in the church at Kegworth; and the harmony of the society interrupted. The debates which were caused by this difference of opinion did indeed confirm some in their former faith, and induce them to esteem the great doctrines still more important and precious: but the views of Mr. W. evidently grew more decidedly hostile to them, and the minds of a few of the private members seemed unsettled. Those whom experience and scripture had taught the baneful tendency of these speculations, exerted themselves

to check the growing defection. Four or five of the neighbouring ministers were invited; and it was agreed that they and Mr. W. should publicly debate the important subjects. On the day appointed, which had been eagerly anticipated, Messrs. Grimley, Hickling, Austin, and S. Deacon, Jun. attended at the place of meeting; at which the members had assembled in great numbers, and with impatient anxiety. Mr. W.'s adroitness and ability were well known; and, on this occasion, he displayed them to peculiar advantage. The good men who were opposed to him, conscious of their ignorance of the arts of controversy, and fearing to injure a good cause by their unskilfulness, stood solely on the defensive, or, at the utmost, ventured only on distant and indirect attacks; and after much desultory discourse, the conference was closed with exhortations to peace and the cultivation of mutual forbearance.

The effects of such a conclusion may be easily anticipated. Those who favoured Mr. W.'s views were strengthened and encouraged by the weak and timid manner in which he was opposed, and others became unsettled in their minds: while the steady friends of the gospel were discouraged and greatly perplexed. As a last effort, they proposed to send for Mr. Taylor; and Mr. W. and his adherents, elated probably with the advantage they had already obtained, cheerfully agreed to the proposal. The invitation was forwarded immediately, and accepted without hesitation. Mr. T. soon arrived in Leicestershire; and the preliminaries for the contest were arranged. The meeting-house at Castle Donington, the appointed place of discussion, was crowded to excess by the members of Kegworth and the adjacent churches, and by many of the neighbouring ministers. The conference began at ten in the morning, and lasted, with an hour's intermission, till near eight in the evening. After prayer, Mr. T. inquired of the church what was their special design in sending for him. This brought forward the queries of Mr. W. respecting the fall and the atonement; which Mr. T. took down in writing, and after modifying them till they were perfectly satisfactory to his opponent, adhered to them, as the subject of debate, throughout the day. Mr. W. then proceeded, at considerable length, to state the reasons of his doubts respecting the depravity of human nature; adducing the common objections urged by the Socinians, and endeavouring to invalidate the arguments

usually employed against them. When he had concluded this part of the subject, Mr. T. replied to his exceptions, in a very perspicuous manner; and then established the doctrine of human depravity—from the scripture testimony—the awful state of the whole world in all ages—and the early propensities to evil observable in all the race of man. On these and other topics, he expatiated with peculiar felicity, and the most perfect good humour. They then discussed, in the same manner, the subject of the atonement; against which Mr. W. urged the usual arguments; and Mr. T. in reply, shewed from the nature of the sufferings of Christ—the phraseology of scripture—the Jewish sacrifices of atonement—and the authority of the greatest divines and most eminent lawyers, that the word punishment was properly applied to the sufferings of Christ; and that they were penal and vicarious. On this subject he dwelt with great force and a most happy effect. He was evidently master of the question; and Mr. W. declined the debate. Throughout the conference, Mr. T. obtained as great credit from the modesty, gentleness and good temper with which he conducted it, as by the force and pertinency of his arguments.

“ After this dispute,” continues our informant, “ Mr. T. preached many sermons previous to his return to Yorkshire, all bearing on the important doctrines which he had advocated with so much ability. They were delivered with singular energy and fervour; and produced the most salutary effects. The church became settled, the wavering were fixed in their attachment to the gospel, and those who had been the steady friends of truth were much confirmed and greatly encouraged. In one day, the dismal cloud which had settled over that church, and which had not only threatened to effect its ruin, but also to reach other churches, was dispelled. Mr. W. and a few who adhered to him, separated from their friends; and, for a short time, carried on preaching; but they soon dwindled away. Permit me, my good friend, to say, that, in my opinion, the occurrence above stated was one of the most important events in the life of your venerable relative. But for *him*, at that time, the withering system of Socinus would probably have spread rapidly in the midland churches;—but he so grasped and strangled the monster, that it has not, since that time, been able to lift up its head with any degree of confidence.” Such are the sentiments of an intelligent

observer, respecting the services rendered to the cause of truth by Mr. T. on this occasion: and such the impression left on his mind of the ability, discretion and piety displayed by that minister in conducting this delicate business; an impression which the lapse of nearly forty years has not weakened.

1782. The General Baptists at Halifax had hitherto continued members of the church at Queenshead; but they became a distinct society in the beginning of this year. As Halifax was the most populous town in the neighbourhood, it was natural for the friends of the General Baptist cause to wish to see it flourish in that town. Mr. T. in particular, was very anxious for this, and had laboured much to promote it. As he was acknowledged to be the best qualified preacher in those churches, it was, thought by many, both members and others, that the common interest required that he should be stationed at the principal town. He was likewise highly esteemed by all the denominations of Christians in the place, and his occasional labours excited more attention, and drew more hearers, than those of any of his brethren. These considerations induced the friends at Halifax to attempt the removal of Mr. T. from the church at Wadsworth to them. This was no easy enterprize. The sincere attachment that subsisted between him and his friends at Wadsworth, rendered them decidedly averse to the proposal. The removal of a pastor from a church over which he had been ordained, unless in cases of apostacy or heresy, was very uncommon among the General Baptists in their best days; and we believe no instance of such a removal had previously occurred in the New Connection. These circumstances certainly were discouraging; but the friends of the measure persevered, and brought the business before the Annual Association this year, at Melbourn: requesting its advice respecting Mr. D. Taylor's removal to Halifax. The reply was, "We advise Birchcliff church to let brother T. go; and we further advise Halifax church to encourage him." This advice did not put an end to the discussion; the matter was referred to several conferences; till at length it was agreed by both parties, to refer the subject to the decision of Providence, by Mr. T. labouring for six months at Halifax, while his place at Birchcliff should be supplied by Mr. J. Sutcliff, a young man of respectable character

and abilities, who had some time previously been called to the ministry by the church at Wadsworth. This experiment, on the issue of which the decision of the subject was placed, commenced at the close of this year. The situation of Mr. T.'s mind, at this stage of the business, is sufficiently evident from a letter he addressed to Mr. Thompson, June 6, 1782, speaking of the Association, he observes: "Brother Hutchinson was sent from Halifax to propose some questions respecting the expediency of my removing, as a preacher, to Halifax; and Brother Sutcliff settling, as a preacher, at Wadsworth. Brother Sutcliff is moderately approved by all. On this account, I was particularly sorry that you were absent. The associated brethren, I think, unanimously advised, that Wadsworth people should consent to let me go, and that Halifax people should encourage me. This had been proposed to our friends before the Association; but they seem quite averse to it. It is, I think, the opinion, both of General Baptists and others, that this change would be greatly to the advantage of the General Baptist interest. I wish to be passive in it. I know not what to do. I beg an interest in your prayers, and your best advice as soon as possible. I can have no secular advantage in view at Halifax, since what is raised there is much less than the little I have at Wadsworth. Though Brother Sutcliff preaches, I think, with universal approbation, yet I am persuaded he is not likely to get through the difficulties that must be got through, in order to raise the interest at Halifax. I have the happiness, however undeserved, to be considerably esteemed among all parties at Halifax; and the thoughts and talk of many are very *romantic* with respect to the consequences of my going there. However, I have no fear of being in some measure successful there, through the blessing of God. Pray write directly your best advice. Our friends are all in an uproar about it; and I cannot still them. I believe it would be to their real advantage, if I were separated from them. But I know not how to leave them."—"Circumstances between my people and those of Halifax are exceedingly perplexing. I know not how to act. If you can address my friends freely on the subject, I wish you would. I think they will hear *you*. Pray be large and free in your advice to me."

Towards the close of 1781, Mr. T. congratulated his esteemed friend, Mr. Birley, on the birth of a son, and did it with

sincere pleasure. But so uncertain is all earthly bliss, that, in a few weeks, he received a letter from his friend, informing him that Mrs. B. was dangerously ill; and pressing him to come immediately to St. Ives. As he was then setting out on a journey, and it appearing wholly inconsistent with his duty to comply; he was obliged to decline the visit. This was evidently a severe self-denial to his affection. During his journey, the subject lay heavy on his mind, and he embraced every opportunity of making inquiry, and sending consolation. Not receiving any certain intelligence, when he returned home, he addressed an affectionate letter to Mr. B. full of christian love and consolation to both the husband and wife, dated January 17, 1782. Alas! it came too late for the use of one of the parties addressed; though it must have been peculiarly seasonable to the other. Mrs. B. was removed beyond the reach of earthly consolation, January 9, and, about the same time, death seized her only child, a boy about ten weeks old. Mr. T. sincerely sympathized with his afflicted and bereaved brother; and, at his earnest request went to St. Ives, February 3, and preached a funeral discourse from *Ezek. xxiv. 16.* This sermon was afterwards published, under the title of "The Stroke of Death practically improved," accompanied with an oration delivered at the interment, by Mr. R. Robinson, of Cambridge. The sermon is affectionate, plain and practical; and furnishes a very favourable specimen of the author's method of improving such affecting and instructive dispensations.

Mr. J. Deacon, who afterwards settled at Leicester, spent part of this year with Mr. T. in pursuing his studies, preparatory to the work of the ministry: and a small portion of the expence was defrayed from the contributions for the instruction of young preachers already mentioned.

1783. From the commencement of this year, Mr. T. laboured chiefly at Halifax; and Mr. Sutcliff supplied the pulpit at Birchcliff. The effects, at the latter place, are variously reported. A person who was connected with neither party, the pastor of a neighbouring church, states, that "the cause prospered at Birchcliff, and the church and congregation were easy and satisfied." But the friends at Wadsworth informed the ensuing Association, that the number of hearers was considerably

diminished during the last half year, and fourteen or fifteen of the members were so uneasy, that if brother T. left them, they had no dependance that they would remain in fellowship." This probably was the sincere, though exaggerated forebodings of an affectionate people, struggling to retain their esteemed pastor and founder; but the event seems not to have verified their fears. At Halifax, the success was more decisive. The same person informs us, that "the evidence of benefit there was too glaring to be overlooked, and too strong to be doubted. Every heart felt delightful satisfaction, and every countenance was cheerful. The hearers began to increase immediately; the friends and their families experienced real advantage; their resolutions were renewed and confirmed, and they went on their way rejoicing." This is the account given by a spectator: Mr. T. himself, in a letter to Mr. Thompson, dated April 28, 1783, made a more modest, and probably a more just, representation. "As to the progress of religion among us," he says, "I cannot say any very great things. The interest is perfectly out of credit with most in the town and neighbourhood; I believe through the mismanagement of those who have had it in hand. And I have good reason to suppose, that there is the most keen and underhand opposition made against us by all the professors in the town. Nevertheless the cause rises; and I believe will rise, though with great difficulty and labour. We hope several have been converted there within the few months past, and some great opposers; particularly one who has been a very notorious persecutor of *us* till lately. The number of hearers appears to increase gradually, though not largely, every Lord's day, since I began to preach there; so that now the congregation looks pretty respectable. In short, things are just as I expected, and foretold they would be. I expect to baptize some next Lord's day but one there; and some others soon after." These expectations were not disappointed; before the Association, eight had been baptized; and the congregation had increased to two hundred.

The success of this experiment was reported to the Association, at Nottingham, June 11, and advice requested: and the opinion of sixteen of the representatives to seven neutrals was, that it would be most to the advantage of the cause of Christ for brother T. to continue at Halifax. This decision, and the evi-

dence that appeared of the propriety of it, determined the question. Soon after the Association, Mr. T. was dismissed from Birchcliff to Halifax, and consented to become their pastor.

This union was publicly recognized, October 8, when Mr. Thompson addressed his old friend from *Rev. ii. 10.* "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Mr. Tarratt preached to the people, from *1 Thes. v. 12—15.* "We beseech you, brethren, know them which labour among you," &c. "The day," says an eye witness, "was a good day; the work was conducted with much regularity; many who were present received much benefit; the people and cause at Halifax were comforted and confirmed; and earnest and cordial thanksgivings were presented to our gracious God."

Mr. T.'s removal excited considerable attention throughout the whole connection; and in many instances amongst professors of other denominations. This induced him to publish "*A Brief Account*" of this transaction, as an introduction to a pamphlet which he printed early in the ensuing year. As this account is concise, we transcribe it; not merely as containing facts, many of which have been anticipated in the course of our narrative; but as exhibiting the temper and views of the author respecting this important occurrence.

"Unworthy of notice as I am, my removal to Halifax has been the subject of much conversation among some of those who have been informed of it. It has been ascribed to several causes. Many have enquired, and some have a right to know, what the real cause is. These are desired to read with attention and candor the following general account of the matter."

"I never had any desire, so far as I remember, to be a Minister at Halifax. On several accounts, I should have preferred almost any other place, if I had wished to leave Wadsworth, which I don't recollect that I ever did. As to pecuniary advantages, or any kind of secular emoluments, any one who knows the state of our interest at Halifax, must be sensible these could not be any inducement. If I had wished for these, I should certainly have removed to some other people, as it is well known I might have done."

"Nor did the people at Halifax ever attempt to persuade me to leave Wadsworth, and go to them. Nor did they ever, that I know of, express any desire for this, unless upon mature and

impartial deliberation, it should appear to wise and disinterested men, to be upon the whole, most likely to advantage the cause of Christ, and promote the happiness of mankind; and consequently to be my duty, according to that great apostolic rule, " whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." This alone, they professed to regard as the test, by which they desired the affair to be tried, and the hinge on which they would have it turn."

" Now it has, for some years past, been apprehended by many who appear very well qualified to judge in the case, that, all circumstances considered, such a remove was very likely to contribute to the advancement of our blessed Redeemer's interest. This has also been frequently suggested to the people at Halifax, by persons of other persuasions, as well as of our own persuasion. This was referred to the judgment of a large number of ministers and others, at our annual association, in 1782. And after considering the matter, they very unanimously advised my brethren at Wadsworth to consent to my removal."

" Since that time, the case has been laid before several others, both ministers and private christians; and we have had many meetings concerning it, and have spent much time in consulting, and praying for divine direction, with respect to it. And I myself have taken much pains, both in reading authors, in literary correspondence, and in personal conference with no small number of my acquaintance, in order to know the opinions both of the living and the dead, in cases of this nature, and I can truly say, have often accompanied this labor with earnest addresses at the throne of grace, for that ' wisdom which is profitable to direct.'

" After this labor had been continued for some months, the matter was again referred to a considerable number of our ministers, at a quarterly conference, and they were desired to re-consider it. And whatever we had been able to collect, that appeared important, both against the remove, and in favor of it, was laid before these ministers at that time. This was done by the consent of both parties, that is, both the people at Wadsworth, and those at Halifax. Upon re-consideration of the subject, the ministers above-mentioned still continued to give their judgment in favor of my removal."

" I have been invariably passive in the matter from the be-

ginning of the discussion of it; feeling, as I humbly hope, through rich grace, a sincere desire to be any thing or nothing that my Lord and Saviour may be glorified, and his interest advanced in the world."

" The result of this was, that the people at Wadsworth came to this conclusion, that the matter should be referred, as much as possible, to the determination of Providence. They therefore agreed that I should labor chiefly at Halifax for six months; and if it appeared, at the end of this period, that the removal was likely to accomplish the desired end, I should continue to labor there; but if not, I should return to my beloved flock at Wadsworth."

" I here beg leave to remark, by the way, that though I am not fond of spending time in compliments and encomiums, yet I will venture to say, that all circumstances considered, and especially considering the mutual endearments that have long subsisted between me and my Wadsworth brethren, I look upon the disposition manifested in this agreement, and the cordiality with which many of them came into it, as one of the best evidences I expect to be favoured with on this side heaven, that my poor labors among them have not been 'in vain in the Lord.' All who attentively read the scriptures must know speculatively, and the true believer knows by experience, that a readiness to part with our dearest comforts, when required for the sake of Christ, is that temper which the Lord requires of all his disciples, and which the gospel effectually produces in all those in whom it savingly takes place."

" At the end of six months, the matter was again referred to the judgment of the associated ministers and brethren, in the present year, 1783; when, having considered the state of both the churches, they once more gave it as their judgment, with great unanimity, and in a very positive manner, that so far as we can judge from circumstances, there is great reason to believe that my removal to Halifax is likely, through the blessing of God, to issue in the advancement of our Saviour's interest; while my brethren at Wadsworth are very well supplied with a minister in my absence, who may 'feed them with knowledge and understanding.' This account of the matter is very short and general; but as exact and simple as I know how to lay it before the reader. May the God of our salvation be glorified

in every step we take below! And may our one design on earth be to serve him, who ‘spared not his only begotten Son, but freely delivered him for us all.’”

Mr. T. took several journeys in the course of this year. March 23, he baptized three persons in Monscardale, near Ashford, and preached at the water-side. He learnt afterwards, that his discourse had caused a great sensation; and the friends there were very anxious that he should pay them another visit; which he did in his way to the Association. May the 9th, he was at Epworth, and baptized seven persons. About the same time he was called to defend the truth by his pen. The General Baptists at Nottingham had pushed their attempts to a place several miles distant, where they had gained some proselytes. This alarmed the clergyman of the place, who circulated some papers in defence of infant baptism, and against separation from the established church, addressed to “all candid Anabaptists;” and challenging them to answer. These were sent to Mr. T. with an earnest request, that he would draw up a reply. Ever ready to defend a cause to which he had devoted all his powers, he cheerfully undertook the task, and prepared an answer, which was circulated among the neighbours; but it does not appear that any of these papers were communicated to the press.

When we consider how entirely Mr. T.’s time was occupied in the concerns of religion, not only in his own church and neighbourhood, but in all parts of the Connection, it is easy to suppose that his domestic concerns could share little of his attention. His frequent journeys and the uncertainty of the place of his final settlement, at this period, must have operated greatly against his school; which indeed he appears to have now wholly relinquished. It is not surprising therefore, that, with a numerous and often afflicted family of seven young children, he should sometimes find himself driven to straits. Yet, though like the Apostle of the Gentiles, he could truly say, that ‘the care of all the churches daily came on him,’ it does not appear that many of those for whom he was spending his time and his talents, reflected on the sacrifices he was making for the common cause; or made any efforts to relieve his embarrassments. From this charge, however, it is just to make an honourable exception in favour of his valuable brother, Mr. Thompson; who on several occasions directed the benevolence or rather justice of his wealthy

friends to this disinterested labourer. In a letter to this gentleman, dated April 28, 1783, Mr. Taylor thus gratefully and piously acknowledges a favour of this nature. " My chief reasons for writing thus speedily, amidst a crowd of other business, are to entreat you and your family to accept the thanks of my wife and myself for your kind interposition in behalf of our welfare; and to desire Mr. and Mrs. B. to accept the same from us both, for the web of cloth, added to all their former favours. I often pray, in my poor way, for them and you; and hope my gracious God and Father will reward both you and them. I assure you, the present gift comes very opportunely, for my family, as well as myself; as I find it difficult, this hard time, to keep all things so decent as it is thought a minister's family ought to be, and especially the family of one who has so many eyes upon him, as I have. But my good God has often provided for me in the time of immediate necessity before now; so that, if I should not trust him in future, I should be peculiarly culpable." On another occasion, on receiving a donation, probably of a similar nature, his gratitude to divine providence and his kind benefactors, breaks out in this strain: " With inexpressible pleasure I received your last; but when I had opened it, with what a mixture of shame and blushing, humiliation and gratitude, did I survey its contents. Surely the good people at B—, will think I mind nothing but begging. I know not what to say—and therefore I say nothing, but, 'the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee. Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion.' I am sure I shall find it very difficult to hold up my head at B— any more. Desire Mr. and Mrs. B.'s further acceptance of our warmest and most affectionate thanks; and desire the same favour of all who have contributed to the late unexpected and undeserved instance of hospitality to a poor unworthy creature. You may truly inform those whom you may think proper, that, though I know no way of making *them* any suitable returns; yet, I feel my spirits much animated and invigorated to consecrate this and every other instance of *providential* bounty to the interest of him who has so positively, and with infinite condescension assured me, that 'none of them that trust in him shall be desolate.' "

In reading such sentiments as these from a person who had

devoted superior powers of mind, with unremitting assiduity to promote the best interests of his fellow creatures, we feel a mixture of pleasure and shame.—It is impossible not to admire the humble gratitude of the writer, who is so willing to acknowledge obligations to his benefactors, and his piety in devoting all to the service of his heavenly Master; but, it is painful to think that such a man should be under the necessity of receiving that support as benevolence, to which he was so well entitled as an equitable remuneration for his important and meritorious services.

His exertions and cares appear about this time to have greatly affected his health. He describes his case in these terms to Mr. Thompson, February 5, 1784. “I thank God my breast is much easier than it was; but when I cough or exert myself in speaking, I feel myself strangely affected, and my spirits greatly sunk. I am not fond of tampering with doctors or physic of any kind; yet if my good friend Dr. N. would be kind enough to advise me of some little easy thing, which he apprehends might be of service to me, I should take it as a great favour. The best account I can give of myself is as follows—I apprehend, I contracted the complaint chiefly by sitting too closely to writing, and too late in cold evenings. It began and continued some time to be a painful soreness; even my breast seemed so sore that I could not easily bear any thing to touch it. But the soreness and pain are now nearly gone; yet I have an inward weakness left. I am not without fear, that my lungs are affected. I do not cough much in comparison of what I did; but when I do cough I am much affected as above. My spirits are sunk, &c. I spit a little blood at the first; but do not now. I find warm easy exercise relieves me; but I cannot bear exertion or cold. My appetite is good, and I rest well.” There can be little doubt, that this illness was owing to his great fatigues; but a robust constitution and returning spring seem to have enabled him to encounter the shock and recover his usual strength.

1784. Mr. T. undertook the oversight of the languishing cause at Halifax with his usual zeal and activity. He preached generally thrice on the Lord’s-day; and frequently during the week preached or conducted prayer and experience meetings, in

private houses, round the neighbourhood. His labours were crowned with encouraging success; and, before the Association this year, fifteen had been added to the church, and hopes were entertained of further increase. The congregation had considerably improved, and the members were lively and harmonious.

The debt on the meeting-house still pressed heavily on the interest at Halifax; the members being poor and few. In order to lessen this burden, Mr. T. took several journeys, in the course of this year. In June, July and August, he travelled with this object through most of the southern parts of England. Of this journey, as far he had then proceeded, he gives an account to his friend Mr. Thompson, in a letter, dated *Waldren, Sussex*, July 9, 1784. "I have preached five times at Canterbury, three times at Dover, twice at Deal, once at Sandwich, four times in London, and four times at Chatham. Last night I preached at Bessell's Green; and am going out to-day amongst Bessell's Green friends of the old Connection; and must preach amongst them this evening. I preached last evening to Mr. Stangar's people; but it does not appear that they have much money to spare for me. I intend to go from hence toward Horsley, Lewes, Ditcheling, Chichester, &c. I forgot to say that I also preached once at Headcorn, once at Smarden, and twice at Cranbrook. The people in general receive me with much apparent cordiality. I have collected on the whole, with your guinea which stands first, £69. 3s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. before Bessell's Green. Thus far I wrote at Bessell's Green; but was called off, and have been on a muddle since, surrounded with company, and engaged with talk. I am now at Waldren; came by Tunbridge Wells, but got nothing there. I expect to be at Chichester next Lord's-day. Am going to Lewes to-day; expect to be in London again in about two weeks. Should be glad to hear there of dear Mrs. T. Have engaged, if practicable, to preach for Dr. Stennett. I wish to be at home, but must endure hardness! I think I cannot see you at Boston in my way. I expect I must go from Cambridge, &c. to Leicester, and I trust thence to Wadsworth." In another letter to the same minister, dated *London*, August 6, it appears that he was still on his travels. He says: "After a very long and tedious journey, I arrived through divine mercy safe in London on the evening before last; and preached that evening, after riding about fifty-five miles,

and sixty the day before. I mention this as an instance, that, after very great fatigues, I and my pony are in good spirits. Yesterday I dined with Dr. Stennett; but was under the absolute necessity of writing five letters, relating to my future journey."

From the last clause, it is evident that he had not then completed his design, but meant to visit other places before his return to his family. When he arrived at Wadsworth, does not appear; probably in a week or two after the date of this letter. His exertions removed, in a great measure, the incumbrance on the meeting-house, and left the cause there at liberty.

Though Mr. T. entered so heartily into the interest of Halifax church, he did not forget his old friends at Wadsworth. In the beginning of this year, he published a pamphlet of one hundred and sixty pages, duodecimo; which he called “The Consistent Christian: or the Truth and Peace, Holiness, Unanimity, Stedfastness and Zeal recommended to Professors of Christianity. The substance of five Sermons.” These discourses were founded on *Zech.* viii. 19, “Love the truth and Peace,” and had been delivered to the church and congregation at Wadsworth, in the prospect of his leaving them to labour for six months at Halifax. They were dedicated, on publication, “to all professors of Christianity, particularly his dear brethren in Wadsworth and the adjacent neighbourhoods, among whom he had spent the most active part of his life, and whose felicity was matter of his earnest prayer.” This is an excellent pamphlet: containing much useful instruction and advice to enable professors to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things; and many earnest exhortations and animating motives to stimulate them to diligence and zeal in the discharge of their holy vocation.

It must have afforded great pleasure to Mr. T. to observe the cause at Wadsworth, which he had so successfully planted, and for twenty years so carefully watered, flourish under the care of Mr. Sutcliff, his successor. In a letter to Mr. Thompson, dated February 5, 1784, he observes, “This day brother Sutcliff baptized five persons; and I think they will have more soon. The day appointed for brother S.’s ordination is Easter Tuesday.” There can be no doubt that he assisted at this solemnity with mingled emotions of pleasure and pain.

About this time, Mr. T. at the request of his friend Mr. B— read with great attention, “Hall’s Helps to Zion’s Travellers.”

and sent his remarks on it, to his friend, in seven long letters, the first dated August 2, 1783, the second January 17, 1784, and the rest in the two succeeding months. The Remarks discover considerable critical skill, and afford a favourable specimen of the author's talent for controversy. The chief subjects discussed are “sovereign love,” “election and reprobation,” “adoption,” “the atonement,” &c. On some of these important points the writer states his views more explicitly than we recollect to have seen in any of his printed works. He treats Mr. Hall with great respect. He had been personally acquainted with him for several years, and esteemed him a pious and judicious minister, though not infallible. Though he freely opposes some things in his book, he speaks highly of it in general, and concludes his observations thus: “I do not apprehend it necessary to make any farther remarks on Mr. H.'s book. The following pages of it appear to me in general according to truth, and calculated, through the blessing of God, to answer good purposes. I lay down the volume with earnest prayer, that the blessing of God may attend it and its worthy author; and that every attempt to oppose error and sin, establish truth and promote holiness, may be accompanied with the same blessing.” These remarks occupy more than fifty close written quarto pages, and are well worthy of preservation.

1785. The ancient General Baptist society in Church-lane, Whitechapel, London, which had existed more than one hundred and thirty years, was, at this period, in a state of considerable declension. The members had sunk, in fourteen years, from three hundred to one hundred and fifty; and the congregation was proportionally diminished. The cause of the General Baptists was then very low in London, and appeared hastening towards extinction. In a letter, addressed by the friends in Whitechapel to the church at Halifax, in August 1784, they thus describe the state of things. “Although this metropolis is estimated to contain about a million of inhabitants; yet, in the five churches of our denomination, we should find it very hard to make out three hundred members. Out of these five churches there is but ours, and one nearly extinct, that hold the fundamental doctrines of the gospel respecting the divinity and atonement of our blessed Saviour. So that we are left as ‘a sparrow

upon the house top.' And we are sorry to add, that we are far from flourishing: the addition of new members scarcely keeping pace with the decease of our old ones." The worthy pastor of this church, Mr. J. Brittain, then in his seventy-fourth year, saw with pain these discouraging facts; and though he had long laboured diligently in his Master's work, found himself, from the infirmities of age, unable to stem the progress of decline. With a laudable anxiety for the welfare of Zion, he addressed a letter to the church, dated January 23, 1784, requesting them to look out for a minister, whose youth and abilities might qualify him to assist in the support of the cause; and offering to relinquish a considerable part of the emoluments of his office in favour of such an assistant. The church felt the propriety of the measure, and immediately resolved to pursue it. They addressed letters to Messrs. D. Taylor, W. Thompson and G. Birley to request them to look out for a proper person. This application made a deep impression on Mr. T.'s mind; and he frequently mentions the importance of the subject to his correspondents. Nothing, however, being done before the Association at Kirton in that year; the case was referred to the consideration of that assembly; and dismissed, by its members, with an acknowledgment of its importance, and a declaration of their inability to recommend a suitable person.

But though the Association, as a body, thought it expedient to give this cold answer, many of its members took up the subject with great ardour. The importance of an able minister being stationed at London, was deeply felt: and such was the general estimation in which Mr. T.'s character and abilities were then held by his brethren, that, when any occasion called for superior talents or exertion, they instantly directed their eyes to him. His late removal to Halifax having been accomplished on the avowed principle, that the promotion of the general interest of the connection justified the removing a minister from one church to another, the conclusion was easy; that, as London was far more important than Halifax, he ought to be stationed at London. These sentiments were freely expressed by many of the ministers at Kirton; and were speedily conveyed to the ears of Mr. Brittain. He caught eagerly at the idea, and communicated it to the church on July 4; when it was unanimously resolved to endeavour to obtain Mr. T.'s assistance. Committees

were appointed to conduct correspondence, and raise supplies; and the whole society, as well as their venerable pastor, determined to exert all their powers to accomplish this object.

Various and formidable obstacles indeed presented themselves. The friends in Yorkshire were in general averse to the proposal; although some, who had advocated the claims of Halifax against Wadsworth, now very consistently pleaded in favour of London. Several churches feared that the precedent, which would be thus established, would weaken the union between churches and their pastors, encourage an unsettled disposition and a fondness for change in young ministers, and diminish the respectability of the General Baptist cause. Others felt a tender concern for Mr. T's reputation, lest it might be insinuated that he removed from place to place in quest of a more dignified station or higher salary. But those who were best acquainted with all the circumstances, viewed things in a very different light. They apprehended that the greatest difficulty in the proposed removal was to reconcile with Mr. T.'s duty, as a husband and a father, the leaving of his farm, his connections, and his long tried friends, and venturing with a young family of nine children, to settle in such a place as London, on the prospect of an annual income of only one hundred pounds. This reflection affected deeply the mind of his sincere friend Mr. Thompson; and caused him to consider the project as impracticable. Some who opposed the design endeavoured to rouse the fears of Mrs. T; but, though she was to venture in a state of weakness a journey of two hundred miles, with twin infants at her breast, not five weeks old, to leave her relatives and acquaintance, and to sojourn amongst strangers; yet she calmly answered all objectors by saying "that wherever her husband thought it his duty to go, it was her's to accompany him."

The London friends persisted in their design; and addressed letters to the Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire conferences, and to many of the leading ministers in the Connection; explaining at large the probable advantage to the common cause which would result from the proposed removal, and soliciting their deliberate and impartial consideration of the subject. In fact, it did occupy the attention of the whole connection for nearly twelve months; and, it is highly probable, that few steps which regarded only an individual minister, ever excited so

much interest and discussion as this occasioned. At length, all the parties concerned agreed to refer the final decision of this long agitated question to the Association at Boston, in April, 1785; when, after a patient and solemn deliberation, which occupied above ten hours, the Association determined by nineteen yeas to eight neuters, "that it would be most for the glory of God for Mr. T. to remove to London."

M. T. himself appears to have taken very little part in any of the deliberations on this subject, except in suggesting the proper modes of discussing it, and moderating the violence of partizans. But it appears that, acting on his constant principle of devoting himself and all he possessed to the service of his Saviour, he had already formed his resolution. The motives that influenced his determination are thus stated by himself in a letter to the deacons of Church Lane, dated March 15, 1802: a period when family afflictions and other causes had involved him in great difficulties. "When the church did me the honor, such I sincerely esteem it, of inviting me to settle among them, I felt the importance of their invitation; but left the matter, as you know, for twelve months under the consideration of the whole Connection. In the mean time, I received some letters, as may naturally be supposed, from my London friends and others upon it. But the great difficulty, both with me and my country friends, was how my family would be supported. I apprehended then, as I do still, that where the Lord, in his providence, calls ministers, he will take care of them. Some thought, however, that I was too bold, and should or might be exposed to insupportable difficulties: but, as they were pleased to compliment me, they thought I was so hard as to get through any thing that could be gotten through. In the midst of these anxieties, when I was following my own plough, in which I took great delight, (I perfectly remember both the place and time,) one of the family brought me a letter from Mr. Brittain; in which he earnestly requested that I would let nothing hinder me from coming to London; and enforced his request by mentioning the low state of the General Baptists in London; and saying that a London minister, whose name he mentioned, rejoiced in this low state, and had said to somebody, that 'it was like a candle just going out.' Mr. Brittain prayed that he might be disappointed; but added, that the church was very low, and

that for one member added three were lost. This roused all my spirits, and led me to drop all care about my family; and to resolve to come to try what could be done, leaving them and myself with God; unless the next Association should convince me that I ought not to make the trial. But the Association unanimously advised me to come; only many thought that I should have a larger salary, and some used strong language upon it. However, I determined upon taking the matter as it was; and though I had two children, in a few days after, added to my seven, yet I committed them all to him that feedeth the ravens. I have never yet repented, and I believe I never shall: I should be the same if my goods were sold to pay my debts to-morrow."

Soon after Mr. T.'s return from Boston, he set out for London; taking with him a letter of dismission from the church at Halifax. On his arrival in the Metropolis, he was cordially received into full connection with the society in Church Lane; and at a special meeting of the members, June 8, read his Confession of Faith; with which they declared themselves thoroughly satisfied, and renewed their unanimous call for him to become joint pastor over them with their aged elder Mr. Brittain. After continuing a few weeks with them, and making the necessary arrangements for removing his family, he returned to Wadsworth. Esteeming it be his duty to settle in London with as little delay as possible, he lost no time in preparing for his journey. He disposed of the stock on his farm, his furniture, and the principal part of his books; and endeavoured to satisfy all just claims. This was to him a task of no small magnitude: and, in order to do it effectually, he submitted to much toil, and made many sacrifices. His fatigue was greatly increased by the affectionate anxiety of his friends, in different places, that he would preach a farewell sermon for each before he left a district, which owed so much to his exertions. His labours were incredible; and the writer of this Memoir well recollects the harrassed and exhausted state of body, in which he addressed a numerous congregation, from the pulpit at Halifax, on the evening before he set out for London; as well the affectionate and animated manner in which the discourse was delivered; and the silent, grateful, and respectful sorrow that overspread the audience. Yet, on this interesting occasion, the preacher asserted that, through excessive fatigue,

his heart had been asleep all the time he was speaking. But the following extracts from a letter, dated July 4, 1785, to his friend Mr. Thompson, will explain his circumstances and proceedings better than any description. " My dear brother Thompson, I have this evening received your kind favor, and wish I had time to answer it, so largely as my inclination prompts me to. But you can hardly think how I am chafed and pushed, to care for my family as I ought to do in settling my temporal affairs, and gratifying my friends every where, by preaching in one place and another before I leave Yorkshire. It is a trying time with me indeed, both on spiritual and temporal accounts; but my heavenly Friend and Father will help me through. As I am bound in conscience to be at London as soon as possible, consistent with prudence and safety to myself and family, I am doing what I can to prepare for the journey; and have fixed to leave Hirst on Wednesday the 20th instant, to take my family to Halifax that night, and to leave Halifax the next morning. Brother Scott has engaged to go to Retford, and take his wife with him, in his own waggon, with my family. I mean to stay at Retford on Lord's-day, the 24th, leave him there on Monday morning, and take his waggon forward to London. I hope to be at Huntingdon by the Wednesday at noon, the 27th instant, and there to rest my family for that day; and spend the evening with brother Birley, who is desirous to honour me with meeting me there: I expect some of my St. Ives friends with him. What pleasure would it give me and my family to see Mr. and Mrs. Thompson among the rest! But the distance forbids me to desire it. I hope to go off on Thursday morning; and to be at my house in Turville-street, Cock-lane, Spitalfields, London, on Friday evening the 29th, if it please the Lord to give me a prosperous journey. If you write to me in London, I would have you direct the first to me, at Mr. Brittain's, as my name is not yet known at the post-office; and my situation will be rather obscure. But if you can write soon after the reception of this, about next Friday, I believe your letter will find me at Wadsworth, and I shall receive it with great pleasure. Thanks be to God! my good wife and all my nine children are well. Ungrateful as I am, I hope I feel the weight of your observations; and, in some measure, know how to value the life of my bosom companion, and to be thankful for her recovery.

A thousand thanks for your kind care and good wishes in behalf of myself and family. My London friends appear very affectionate; and engage to give me one hundred pounds the first year. So that if you write at all, I advise you to write very tenderly. I informed them that I could not possibly judge what such a family as mine would want in London; but I hoped I should not be extravagant, and would venture myself with God and them."

" My late family expences, my loss in selling my books and goods, and the expences of my journey, will indeed go a great way. So that I am afraid I shall find it difficult to get through with credit, and pay all the money I have on interest, for the stocking of my farm. But I hope I am able to trust in him who has hitherto helped me. He knows I aim at nothing but his glory. 'A fifty pound bank note,' as you say, would set me at liberty, or half so much; but I can neither expect nor desire it. However, clothing my family and furnishing my house, only to a moderate degree of decency in London, will certainly be no little matter. But I expect my London friends will help me in the latter."

It will only be necessary to add to the above extract, that, by the good hand of his God upon him, he accomplished his plans, and arrived safely in London, with his family, at the time intended. On the Lord's-day previous to his arrival, the venerable Mr. Brittain preached from *Rom. xv. 29.* "I am sure that when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the gospel of Christ." In the course of his sermon he said much in praise of his expected colleague, and anticipated such great effects from his settling in London, that a friend said to him when he came down from the pulpit, " Well, Sir, you have not indeed preached yourself to-day, nor yet have you preached Christ Jesus; but you have preached your brother Taylor."

Indeed it is abundantly evident, that the expectations of the London friends were raised to a romantic height. Nor were they alone in their enthusiasm; it was fully shared by many in the country. The following extracts will give the reader some idea of the estimation in which Mr. T.'s character and abilities were held at this period. The friends at Church Lane, in their letter to the district conferences, say: " Our views of his removal are, that, on account of his good attachment to, and his

ability and stability in the cause, he might not only be a means of stopping the mouths of gainsayers to the truth, but of raising the interest to a degree of reputation, in the eyes even of those who at present will hardly set their foot in a place where general redemption is preached." "As a church, we are quite unanimous in giving him a call; and we do think that it might be much for the good of the cause and interest in this large city, where the General Baptist interest is so very low."

In their letter to the church at Halifax, after stating the objects they had in view, and the previous steps which had been taken, they proceed thus: "Having introduced the subject thus far, we proceed to the more immediate but more difficult part of the business, and entreat your clemency, dear brethren, for a few moments, while we further acquaint you, that we have been informed, by more than one or two, who were at the Kirton Association, that when they considered our case, it was the opinion of several present, that brother D. Taylor was the properst, if not the only person who was likely to accomplish the above-mentioned purposes, if he were sent to London. And Providence having recently called him, among other places, to this metropolis, we have had the pleasing opportunity of hearing him a few times; but, though few, yet sufficiently often to be entirely of their opinion concerning him. Hence we leave you to judge what are our wishes; and which we doubt not but from these broad intimations, (for we hardly dare go farther) you will plainly discover."

In their letter to the Association at Boston, they observe: "At first we had no other design than to obtain an assistant minister during our pastor's natural life, who, if approved, might succeed him, after his decease, in the pastoral office. But when one who has already sustained that character many years, with so much esteem by all the churches, is the object of our wants and wishes, and is pointed out as the only instrument to effect our relief, we cannot be so unjust as to deprive him of that station which he has so long and so honourably filled in the church of Christ, by reducing him from a pastor to an assistant minister only. We therefore, if so happy as to be blessed with him, shall receive him as a joint elder or co-pastor with our present minister, with whom we shall most gladly unite in accepting him in that capacity."—"We wish, for his own and

family's sake, that he be permitted first to come amongst us for a short time, as it were upon probation; not for us to have the trial of him, for as to his abilities we are quite satisfied; but that he may have the trial of us."

We shall close these extracts with a copy of the Letter of Dismission, which the church at Halifax gave to Mr. T. when he left them for London. This document ought to be preserved for the honour of both the parties."

"*To the GENERAL BAPTIST CHURCH in LONDON.*

Beloved Brethren,

As it is thought best by the Association of Ministers and others, and that it will be most for the glory of God and the good of men in general, that our pastor be with you in London, although to part with such a valuable and worthy minister has been, in all probability, the greatest affliction we expect to meet with on this side the grave; yet as the great Governor of the universe hath a just right to dispose of his servants as he sees best; we, in compliance therewith, humbly acquiesce in the divine providence, and dismiss him to you: praying that he may be a lasting blessing to you and your children, and that every spiritual good may be accomplished thereby.

As to our worthy minister's character, it is fair and unblemished in the world: and so far as we have any knowledge of him, it has been as becometh the gospel of our great Redeemer. He hath always made it manifest by every act of generosity, industry and study; and hath constantly endeavoured to promote that glorious cause. May that disposition be cultivated and continued by him, by you, and by us all, for the great Redeemer's sake.

Signed in behalf of the Church,

*Solomon Bryar, Richard Thomas, John Willson,
Benj. Butterworth, Robert Taylor, James Woller,
Eliz. Mitchell."*

The period which we have just closed formed a very busy portion of Mr. T.'s life. He was then in the prime of his strength, possessed uncommon vigour and activity of body, and

a zeal for the honour of his Saviour and the salvation of sinners, that animated him to employ all his energies for the promotion of these glorious objects. The high respect in which he was held throughout the New Connection opened a wide field for exertion, and he was eager to occupy it to the uttermost. His journeys for the advancement of religion during this period, considering his other engagements, were almost incredible. Seldom a year passed in which he did not travel several hundreds of miles. He often, as we have seen, took long journeys to preach on extraordinary occasions; such as ordinations, opening of new meeting-houses, &c. He made also frequent excursions to visit the midland and Lincolnshire churches, preaching almost every evening, and thrice on the Lord's days, to numerous congregations, many of whom followed him with affectionate approbation, from one place to another, often to a distance of twelve or sixteen miles from their own habitations. He has frequently observed, as a matter not of conjecture but certainty, that, before his removal to London, he had travelled, for the purpose of spreading the gospel, more than the entire circuit of the globe, or twenty-five thousand miles.

He was equally ardent in his endeavours to promote religion in his own neighbourhood. A person who resided with him in the years 1781 and 1782, thus describes the usual course of his labours: "I generally heard him twice and often thrice on the sabbath; and three or four times on the week days, in dwelling houses at the distance of from two to five miles from his own habitation. When I have walked with him I have been surprised at his activity and alertness. He could climb the steep hills with as much ease as I could walk on the plain; and skip like a goat in difficult passages, where I was afraid of my neck. One Lord's day evening, after preaching twice at Birchcliff, he walked to Burnley, about fourteen miles distant. I accompanied him. We had scarcely time to take refreshment previous to starting, and it must be half-past seven when we arrived. He preached, in a dwelling-house, to about thirty people; and, after preaching, having smoked his pipe and taken a little bread and butter, and a small quantity of warm ale, we set out for Wadsworth. We arrived at home about two in the morning. I was tired to excess; but he complained very little, and in the morning resumed his labours nearly at the usual hour. Exer-

tions similar to this were common with him, not only while I resided at Wadsworth, but before and after that period."

In his attempts to introduce the gospel into dark places, where the sound of it had never reached, he frequently encountered that enmity which the carnal mind always feels against the truths of God; but his intrepidity of spirit was always equal to the occasion. Many anecdotes, illustrative of this remark, are preserved in Yorkshire; but the lapse of time has rendered the accuracy of their circumstances doubtful. One however we shall insert, as a specimen of the rest; and as we received it from the person who accompanied him when it occurred, we may rely on its authenticity. When Mr. T. first went to preach at Worsthorn, near Burnley, a violent spirit of opposition manifested itself in some of the neighbouring places. On one of his early visits, a number of rude people assembled before the hour appointed for the service, and openly declared their intention of pulling him down from the pulpit. This was overheard by one of his friends who had accompanied him from Wadsworth, and filled him with alarm. He took an opportunity, before the commencement of the worship, to ask Mr. T. if he had brought his licence with him. "For what purpose?" enquired the preacher. "Because," replied his friend, "there are a number of rude men come, determined to pull you down." "Pooh! pooh!" Mr. Taylor exclaimed with a smile; and, without taking any farther notice of the intimation, calmly began the service. He had scarce read his text, *Hos. xiii. 9.* when a stout man, with a look of black resolution, pushed his way through the congregation, right towards the pulpit. His friend now began to tremble, supposing the attack was about to commence; but the preacher fixing his eye steadily on the man, pursued his discourse with the utmost composure. The intruder listened attentively till the sermon was finished, and then retired without any attempt at interruption.

A similar instance of fortitude occurred towards the close of this period. Being on a journey in the north of Lincolnshire, he called upon a friend at Brigg. The Methodists being informed that he was in the town, desired him to preach for them, to which he readily consented. Not having any place of worship except a dwelling-house, they borrowed an old meeting-house belonging to the presbyterians, which had been some time

unoccupied. In this Mr. T. preached; and the novelty of the circumstance drew crowds of rude people to the spot. In the midst of the service, a heavy stone, of the size of half a brick, was thrown with great force through a window behind the pulpit, which passed close by the preacher's head and fell in the middle of the room. The people were struck with consternation; but Mr. T. neither changed his position, nor shewed the least symptom of discomposure, but continued his discourse with as much calmness as if nothing had occurred.

SECTION II. *An Attempt to exhibit Mr. Taylor's Views, Pursuits, Cares and Labours, during this Period, in Extracts from his Correspondence and unpublished Manuscripts.*

IT does not appear that the subject of these Memoirs kept a regular Diary, during the period which we have just reviewed; at least no such document has been found amongst his papers. We cannot therefore trace the state of his mind, or its various exercises, with the same precision as in the former chapter; but as we have, by the kindness of his surviving friends, been favoured with a number of Letters written by him prior to his removal to London, we shall select a series of Extracts from them and his other papers, arranged in the order of their dates. These will, it is presumed, exhibit interesting evidence of his sincere devotedness to God, his ardent desires for the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow-creatures; of the solicitude he felt, and the zeal with which he laboured, for the prosperity of Zion; and of the variety and importance of his exertions. Some passages will also be introduced, as displaying his sentiments on important points of doctrine, or conveying useful instruction to those who are engaged in investigating or defending the great principles of christianity.

1. TO MR. B—.

“ Wadsworth, July 15, 1768.

“ Dearly beloved Brother,

“ Your's, dated June 17, came duly to hand, which I read with great pleasure on several accounts. I am glad you

have been so well employed, since you got to N——, in composing a few short discourses. I hope the next news will be, that you have been at M——, and there preached a few short discourses; and may the good Lord attend you with his spirit and blessing! Remember, ‘ he that desires the office of a bishop desires a good work.’ Besides, in the discourses which you have composed, you have done the greatest part of your work. It will be easy to read them now you have composed them. You also seem urged to it by the necessity of the people. What! several meals of food ready provided and well cooked, and a family of your Father’s household starve for bread, only for want of setting it before them! Nay sure, I hope better things of my brother B—. Pray what is food for; but to be eaten? How should it be eaten, if kept in the cupboard? What use will it be of to the family, if nobody ever see it besides the cook? Do you say it will do men no good? You cannot be a proper judge of that. It is the best you have. If they can feed upon it, let them: if not, you are clear. Pity the poor souls; and do what you can for them. It is best for you and for me to follow the leadings of divine providence in all things. You have, I think, a very clear call to begin the sacred work; and give me leave to put you in remembrance ‘ to stir up the gift that is in you.’—*2 Tim. ii. 6.* May the good Lord be your help! In order to this, you and I, my dear brother, have great need to be watchful, ‘ lest we grieve the holy Spirit of God.’ He is our only helper, both as christians and as ministers; and if he withdraw we shall bring ourselves to shame and confusion. May the Lord guard us by his grace! Be much in prayer; and think of me when you approach near to a throne of grace. I received a letter from brother Thompson, in the same hand with your’s, which confirms the sad account which you gave me of poor S—. Lord, grant we may be able to trample upon a vain, wicked, ensnaring world. If not, it will trample upon us.”

2. TO THE SAME.

“ *Wadsworth, April 23, 1770.*

“ *My very dear and much esteemed Brother,*

“ I hope you still abide in health, and increase in grace and in spiritual gifts: the Lord make you to increase and

abound yet more and more! You must be kind enough to excuse my not prosecuting the subject of redemption here, as I have scarcely time to scribble over a few lines to you, having so much business at present before me; and yet I think myself obliged to write on the following occasion. I was last week at Lincoln, with ten other ministers, to consult about establishing and promoting the New Assembly at London next Whitsuntide. We had a happy meeting, and were unanimous in determining to promote it. But none of our (shall I say, cowardly?) Lincolnshire ministers, besides brother Thompson and myself: the rest were out of Leicestershire, Warwickshire, &c. But of this matter I trust you will hear more by and by. I, with brother Thompson, came from Lincoln to K—, where, we believe, there are a number of serious lively souls; but want a good preacher, and bringing into proper order. There is a pretty meeting-house, and many of the town's-people seem willing to hear. The town is a pretty large market town, and I think no other dissenters in it. A fine air, exceeding healthful; so that I think there is a prospect of keeping a school and preaching the gospel. K— seems to be a centre for a large sphere of usefulness. Lincoln, where we have a meeting-house, on one hand; Stockworth and Misterton, on another; the Isle, on another; and many other towns surround where the gospel is little known. I think I never saw a place where there was a greater prospect of promoting our Redeemer's cause. They propose to give a minister — per annum at present, and increasing as the number increases. And I believe a school-master, properly qualified and diligent, may procure a good living, and much reputation to himself and the gospel, and do much service. After this induction of circumstances, you will easily apprehend I most heartily wish that you could and would come thither. At their entreaty, I thought proper to desire you to come. They seem not an obstinate people, but willing to submit to any gospel terms, which is a great matter to a minister. Mr. Thompson most heartily joins me in begging you would come there if possible. He would be a friend to you, in procuring you an addition to your annual income, to his utmost. We are the more earnest, as you would be in the line almost between Wadsworth and Boston; and so we hope we could promote one another's usefulness. What is in my power

to do for you shall not be omitted, depend upon it. O, my brother, come and help to revive the dying interest of our adorable Saviour! You shall see God will be with you."

" If there is any prospect at all of your settling there, I desire you would come once and preach to them; and I and brother Thompson would endeavour to meet you there; and, if possible, would remove every obstacle out of your way. Write as soon as possible; and open your mind fully on this subject: as they and we wait in suspense, and must exert ourselves to the utmost to get them another preacher, if you cannot or will not come."

3. TO MR. WILLIAM THOMPSON.

Wadsworth, July 9, 1770.

" *Dearly beloved brother Thompson,*

I most sincerely wish, that I knew how to give you the satisfaction you desire, concerning the personality of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It is indeed, as you say, a sublime subject. I have employed my thoughts, and read the scriptures and several authors upon it, with some diligence, at times; but especially for some months past. But I am very far from being able to say certainly, in what sense and how far the Father, Word and Spirit are three and one. I am inclined to believe that it is a matter above human comprehension; and what God has not revealed in his word. Hypotheses may be formed, schemes may be drawn, reasons assigned, supposed representations invented, and parallels run; but I am free to declare, that those who seem most positive and dogmatical seem to me to know the least about the matter. And though I think inquiries are lawful: and, if pursued with humility and modesty, may be very useful; yet I am sometimes ready, in this point, to join the pious Dr. Jeremy Taylor, in saying, ' That he who goes about to speak of the mystery of the Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention; talking of essences and existences, hypostases and personalities, priorities in co-equalities, and unity in pluralities, may amuse himself and build a tabernacle in his head; and talk of something he knows not what: but the good man who feels the power of the Father—to whom the Son is become wisdom, sanctification and righteousness—and in whose

heart the Spirit is shed abroad,—this man, though he understands nothing of what is unintelligible, yet he alone truly understands the christian doctrine of the Trinity! Perhaps the last clause might have been better expressed."

" You, my brother, have more consideration than to confound the proof of a truth with the explication of a mystery; and thereby accuse me of giving up any part of gospel truth, because I pretend not to comprehend incomprehensibles. I find it pleasing enough for a curious mind to set my brains to work and invent similes, &c. to illustrate this great point of the personality; but I would rather at present content myself with admiring and adoring: lest I should be found too busy with those secret things that belong to God. Perhaps it may form part of our heaven to contemplate this grand and awful subject."

" That God is, as you express it, one simple, undivided, infinite Spirit, is, I think, certain. Yet that the scriptures speak of a distinction between the Father, Word and Spirit, and yet attribute Godhead to each, is to me very evident. But wherein this distinction consists; and how they are three and how one—whether as the three essential formalities (as some call them) of the human soul, power, intellect and will—or as motion, light and heat in the sun; as Mr. Baxter imagined—or as three distinct, eternal, intelligent spirits, inexplicably united, as Mr. Howe, Dr. Sherlock, &c. seem to have thought—or, whether three proper distinct persons, entirely equal to and independent of each other, yet making one and the same being in some unknown way, as Dr. Abraham Taylor and some other Athanasians seem to talk—or whether we are to consider the Father as the fountain of Deity, communicating the whole divine nature to the Son, and the Spirit deriving the whole divine nature from them both; as Bishop Bull and Dr. Owen seem to have thought—or whether we must call the distinctions only modal, as the three dimensions of one cube; as Dr. Wallis and Archbishop Tillotson appear to have conjectured—or must suppose the distinction merely economical, or as you express it, three personal characters applied to the one infinite Spirit, as the followers of Sabellius—or distinguish between the essence, the wisdom and the power; that is, the energetic or active power of God, and call these the three persons in the Trinity; as Dr. Watts thought—I say which of these bids fairest for truth is another question. I

think I see difficulties in all, and insuperable ones in some. But I wonder not at it, when I read *Job xi. 7, 8.*"

"I am inclined to believe that bold inquiries of this kind had a bad influence on the judgment or minds of the ancient Cerinthians, Ebionites, and Carpocrations; and afterwards on Photinus, and Paulus Samosatenus, and their followers; and those who, in these last centuries, have, in this point, espoused their sentiments: I mean the Socinians, as well as the ancient and modern Arians; and led them from the plain truths of the gospel. When we attempt to explain things that are inexplicable, we necessarily lay ourselves open to the enemies of the truth, who generally take occasion to object against some supposed appendage or circumstance, rather than against the main thing in dispute. So the Arians and Socinians, at this day, will not so directly dispute against the proper divinity of Jesus Christ simply and abstractedly considered; but are ever nibbling at the personality, &c. as though there was a necessary connection of the one with the other. Whereas any understanding thoughtful man may see, and an honest man will confess, that they have no necessary dependance one upon another. The personality, as it is called, or the distinction of the sacred Three, is, I think, an incomprehensible mystery; and therefore if we attempt to explain it, the enemies of the Divinity of Christ will make exceptions, as I think they may easily do, against any scheme of explication that I have seen. Here the unwary schemer is set fast; and the opponent begins with his taunts and banter; raises a dust by the breath of his mouth, and the schemer is bewildered."

"I am not very willing, in these sacred mysteries, to coin new words, lest I should join more or fewer ideas to these words than my Bible warrants. I therefore say with the scripture: 'The Father, Word and Spirit are three, and these three are one.' If any one should choose to ask me: 'Three what?' and I could not tell him, I should not be ashamed, whether he was an Arian or Athanasian. I should only ask him: 'Where is it written?' and it is much if I did not turn laugher before the dispute was over."

4. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, Nov. 9, 1770.

"I am often much concerned for Lincoln; but am now so more than ever. Certainly the Baptist interest might be raised there. Were I at liberty, I think I could cheerfully sacrifice my little all in the attempt—I wish you would think of a method. Shall I venture to mention one? Might not the churches be persuaded to collect a little to supply the expences of one year? Let a number of ministers be chosen to supply it stately for one year in turns, and have their expences paid out of this collection, at the discretion of a committee chosen for the purpose. Let quarterly collections be made; and let what is received at these either go to disburse the ministers' expences, if wanted; or, if not wanted, let it be kept in stock for the second year's supply. I think, union of heart, patience, resolution and faith, would accomplish the great design. Great it certainly is, and will prove so both to the souls in Lincoln and to the Baptist interest. I arrived safely at Wadsworth on Saturday night; and found family and friends well: blessed be the Father of all mercies! O how swiftly does time fly away! Lord, help us to improve it better! And may we at last give up our accounts with joy!"

5. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, Sept. 4, 1771.

"By *faith*, I still think, is meant (or at least it includes) a confidence in God, founded on the truth of his word, and the revelation of that truth received and embraced. If I had time I would give you my reasons at large; and I do intend, God willing, to do it at some other opportunity. If you maintain that this confidence is the effect of faith, rather than included in its nature and essence, yet if you maintain this confidence necessary to salvation, I think we need not fall out about the matter. By assurance of faith, I understand a firm assured, unshaken confidence in God without any prevailing doubts, founded on his word. As to Mr. Romaine's notion of faith, he expresses himself so variously about it in his *Life of Faith*, &c. that I think it is hard to determine what notion he

has of it. A stranger to the man who compares his various definitions together, would probably think he has no settled notion of it. I congratulate you, my dear brother, on your delightful prospect at M——; and rejoice to hear that you are so hearty a friend to field preaching. Pray come soon to Wadsworth. We have plenty of field room in the West Riding of Yorkshire. I pray God bring you here in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace. Be assured, it will rejoice my heart to see you here. The hurry of the Association will be no more than is common at other Associations: and if we would not have hurry, we should not have appointed them. The Lord bless you."

6. EXTRACTS from Mr. D. TAYLOR'S *Remarks on Mr. DOBELL's Scriptural Plan of Salvation by Christ; written in 1771, but never published.* (See page 79.)

" All will allow, perhaps, that the scripture is true, when it saith ' Christ was a sacrifice for sin.' But then the question is, What is meant by this expression? What ideas do we fix to the phrase? Do we really mean that our sins were laid on him, that he bore them in his own body on the tree? and thereby was a real propitiation or atonement for sin? There are many kinds of sacrifices; but a sacrifice for sin seems necessarily to mean a sacrifice that makes an atonement for sin; and this doctrine is abundantly taught concerning our Lord and his sacrifice. Sin is an offence to God, as it is a breach of his law. God therefore is offended by our sins, and we are the offenders: Hence both Jews and heathens, have cultivated the notion and sentiment of appeasing the offended Deity, when a sacrifice for sin was offered; as multitudes of instances might be adduced from both kinds of writers to evince. We had displeased God: God was pleased with the sacrifice of Christ: On that account he accepts us. Does not this necessarily lead us to the doctrine of satisfaction for sin? If God would not accept sinners, without Christ's sacrifice, was not he without this unsatisfied? If he accepts us for the sake of this, is he not then satisfied by it? But must it not then be justice that is satisfied? It seems ridiculous to talk of the satisfaction of mercy: Mercy requires no satisfaction. So then if we have a proper notion of a sacrifice

for sin, and allow that Christ was such a sacrifice, we are once more unavoidably led to the doctrine of satisfaction to divine justice; though Mr. D. seems to think it an unnecessary article of faith. Are we not assured that we have access to God by Christ? Could we have access to him without Christ's dying for us? Does not our being shut out from him, prove that he is angry, and of consequence, unsatisfied? Does not our admission to such access prove him to be pleased, and consequently satisfied; not by us, but by him that obtained our access? Is not this all fully confirmed by the apostle's declaration, *Rom.* iii. 25, 26. where we are assured 'Christ was a propitiation, &c. that God might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus?' Now if this is Mr. D.'s notion of a sacrifice for sin, we rejoice in the agreement that there is between his judgment and ours. Let our swords be beaten into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning hooks; and let us join in maintaining this great, this all-momentous truth, whoever may oppose it."

"On the other hand, if he talks of any other kind of sacrifice for sin, not with this design, not producing these effects, we are not only much in discouragement, and left without hope; but I ask leave to be free in saying, I regard it as absolute nonsense and absurdity. I am so far from believing it an article of gospel truth, that I believe it diametrically opposite thereto; and so far from being any part of the terms of salvation, that, I greatly fear, those who believe this inevitably shut themselves out from the salvation of Christ. Not because there is any merit or desert in believing this or the other truth; but because such a view of things as this leads naturally to many other errors, of a pernicious nature; because it robs the soul of power to confide in Christ as a complete Saviour; it leads us to confide in our own works, and thereby brings or keeps us under the curse, *Gal.* iii. 9, 10: it argues that we are not convinced of our wretchedness, nor have we any suitable views of the evil and damnable nature of sin, or of the wrath of God revealed from heaven against it; consequently no conviction of our need of Christ, nor of the worth of him. How then should we love him, because he first loved us? I therefore beg Mr. D.'s free explication of what he means by a sacrifice for sin."

"To talk of either law or gospel admitting of any obedience as the terms of salvation, which is imperfect and defective,

argues, I think, very great and shameful ignorance both of the perfections and the word of God: and, if it could be admitted, would involve the poor sinner (such as we all are) in numerous and inextricable difficulties. For if he admits of something imperfect as the means or terms of salvation, it would naturally be inquired, how far may this be imperfect and yet the person be safe? Where must the bounds of this obedience, as to the perfection of it, be fixed? If he says, we must come as near perfection as we can; then I ask, What must they do who do not come as near perfection as they can? They must lie down in despair. And where is the man that does or ever did come as near perfection as he can? I am free to own, though I would do it with shame, sorrow and humiliation, that there is not a day in which I can appeal to God, that I have come as near perfection as I could: and I believe Mr. D. and every man and woman living, upon close examination, as in the sight of God, must say the same. If so; then according to this scheme, who can be saved hereafter? or have any well grounded hope here? I know a clause in this article may, if taken without consideration, be esteemed a kind of salvo; namely, ‘repenting, returning to his duty,’ &c. But, I fear, his difficulties will crowd upon him here, as much as ever, if he come to be once in real earnest about his soul’s salvation. For it is still to be inquired: Must he return to observe perfectly or imperfectly? Not perfectly, Mr. D. seems to allow; and it would be to the last degree discouraging, if this were required of him, in order to salvation: for then no flesh could be saved. I speak here of all the parts of holiness, which I suppose Mr. D. means by obedience to the laws of God, or of the gospel. If imperfect duty will do, it is still to be inquired, how far perfect? and how much imperfection will be allowed and admitted? If this cannot be determined (as I believe it never will), the poor soul has nothing to aim at, nor any way in the world of coming to satisfaction with regard to his state.”

“ He will perhaps say, ‘he must sincerely do the best he can,’ and I say so too: so ought every one at all times; but a tender conscience, such as is ever likely to come at heaven, here again will be fastened. If he must sincerely do his best, common sense will tell him that he must do this every day of his life, and every moment of every day; and that this extends to his con-

stant guarding of every thought, temper, desire, and passion; that with every word he speaks he is incessantly determining to glorify God, and is always contriving this when he is not speaking or acting; yea, that ‘whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does, he do all to the glory of God?’ This is undoubtedly every real believer’s duty, and every real believer’s desire. But, alas! when will he live one single day that he can say at night, he has done so? I could wish to see that day, when I could say it for myself; but I hardly expect it, till this vile body shall be fashioned like to Christ’s glorious body. This is the work, not of a fallen, but a perfect creature. Hence, if this is the way of salvation, I believe we may venture boldly to say, no man can be saved hereafter, much less can he come at any well grounded hope of it here. Hence I fear the popish sentiment, ‘No assurance of salvation here,’ takes its rise. A sentiment and delusion big with mischief on many accounts; contradictory to the tenor of the gospel, and inconsistent with the nature of real conversion to God. It might be seen at large how much these unscriptural and detestable, I had almost said, diabolical principles tend to overthrow all our peace, to subvert the very foundations of real christianity; if we had time to trace them in all their horrid consequences.”

“The truth is, neither perfect obedience, nor imperfect, to the law of God; neither doing our best, nor desiring, nor endeavouring to do our best, in this view, nor any thing of the like kind, has any foundation in scripture, as being the terms of our justification before God. Any thing of this kind is diametrically opposite to the perfections of the blessed God, and the whole tenor of the gospel. ‘The way of a sinner’s justification is clearly taught by the apostle in very different terms. ‘It is by Christ’s obedience,’ says the apostle, ‘that we are made righteous:’ *Rom.* v. 19. ‘Not by our obedience, it is the righteousness of God’ (not of us) ‘that is unto all, and upon all them that believe;’ not them that do their best. *Rom.* iii. 22. ‘Salvation is by grace through faith; not of works, lest any man should boast.’ *Eph.* ii. 8, 9. The scripture is full of this doctrine; and it is a rich blessing to us that it is.”

“Man being perfect, nothing could justify him before God but obedience absolutely perfect in all respects. Loving God with all the heart, &c. Man being now fallen, and unable to do

this. *Rom.* viii. 3. Christ has done that glorious work for him; by which, through faith, the sinner is justified, and God's justice, as well as his mercy, glorified. *Rom.* iii. 26. Christ's obedience was perfect—' He knew no sin,' *2 Cor.* v. 21. This is received and applied by faith. *Acts* xiii. 3, 16, 31. *Rom.* iv. 5. x. 4. And faith is not imperfect in any believer with respect to the quality of it, though often the degree is but small; yet the word of God respects not the degree, but the quality in the matter of justification. It is not he that believeth much, or strongly; but ' he that believeth is justified from all things.' *Acts* xiii. 39. So that in this respect there is no deviation from, nor coming short of the word of God; and it is equally express, on the other hand, that he that believeth not is condemned now, and shall be damned hereafter, whatever he do besides. To believe in Jesus is evidently to confide in him as a complete Saviour; and necessarily implies a rejection of all dependance on our own righteousness in the point of justification, and all thought of doing works of righteousness in order to be justified thereby. Not only the word of God shews the evil tendency of this, and its destructive consequences; it is inconsistent with the very nature and quality of genuine faith in Jesus. But then, may such a person live after the flesh? Will he live after the flesh? Far from it. So far from it, that I must ask leave to remain satisfied, that a person can give no stronger proofs of his being an absolute stranger to faith, and to every branch of salvation, than to surmise or imagine any thing of this nature. Instead of this, the scripture assures us, and the believer knows it by experience, that ' faith works by love,' that ' it purifies the heart,' that ' we are sanctified by it.' *Acts* xv. 9. xxvi. 18, 19. *Gal.* v. 6. May this faith, with all these precious effects, be the happy portion of Mr. D. of my dear friend to whom I now write, and of his most affectionate brother and humble servant."

PHILAETHES."

7. TO MR. B.

" Wadsworth, August 5, 1773.

" Have you got me a Mill's Greek Testament? Has Candidus written again? Is there any revival of religion among you? I hope the dear Lord Jesus is still precious to your soul; and you delight in preaching a free, full salvation

through him. I have had the pleasure of baptizing my wife's mother and my brother Robert, since I saw you: Glory to God for his mercies. 'Amidst all our learning, let us ever be learning to live by faith in 'the Son of God, who has loved us and given himself for us.' This is the way, the only way to be happy in all states, in life and death; and to face death with comfort and joy. Blessed be God! we have a glorious evidence of this at present. I am to preach a funeral sermon, this day, for a woman who has been long and much afflicted, yet lived and died very happy in the views of Christ as her Saviour. I hope you will be an instrument of the conversion of many; and of training them up for heaven. If you settle at S——, proceed slowly in every thing of importance and difficulty. Look constantly to the Father of lights for spiritual understanding."

8. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, Nov. 5, 1773.

"Dear Brother B.

"Your's came to hand and was received with pleasure, at my return from Lincolnshire; but I wish you could have come to Wadsworth. The ordination work was got through by brother Thompson, brother Tarratt and myself. I hope there is a prospect of great good being done at Queenshead. Blessed be the Lord for it. They are now twenty-one members in fellowship, who had their first Lord's supper the last Lord's day. I hope you will pray for us both: and may your prayers be heard and answered.

"I trust the good Lord is teaching you to make some suitable improvement of your late trial, by your father's decease. Death is indeed solemn and awful; though pleasant and delightful to a child of God, especially when his heart is engaged properly on Jesus. May your heart be thus engaged daily. And, as the souls of your surviving relatives are, I doubt not, precious to you, I hope you are endeavouring to instruct and assist them in the proper improvement of their late visitation. O what a blessing to be useful to poor souls! even though it be at the expence of our ease, our honour, or even of our literary amusements too. 'You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; that though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that

we through his poverty might be made rich.' O how engaging a motive this to awaken us to labour for the good of our fellow creatures!"

9. TO MR. WILLIAM THOMPSON.

"*Wadsworth, Sept. 28, 1775.*

"*My dear Brother,*

"I am glad to hear of your various labours; I hope they will be accompanied with proportionable success. For my part I am confined at home generally, and have little opportunity to preach abroad, except at Halifax and Queenshead; but I wish success to those who are at liberty. Since I saw you, we have had much trouble with one or two unruly members, on account of my preaching so frequently at Halifax, &c. who have, I fear, done us much harm. However, the work, I believe, does not entirely stand. Last Lord's day I baptized two; and hope for more very soon. O what prudence is necessary in all such cases! I often see my need of wisdom. Blessed be God, who has promised to assist and uphold! The promises are sweet in time of trial."

"O that I could see you in Wadsworth, when you visit Yorkshire! We ding, ding, ding on; in a corner of the world, unenvied, unvisited, and almost unknown. If you can come, it will clear my heart, and the hearts of many. If not, the Lord make you useful and happy elsewhere."

10. TO MR. B.

"*Wadsworth, Aug. 31, 1775.*

"I wish the Lord may make you of great use in D——— and in every other place where Providence calls you. Think closely, read your Bible carefully, live by faith in Jesus; and you will be very likely to preach successfully."

11. TO THE SAME.

"*Wadsworth, July 24, 1775.*

"*My very dear Brother,*

"Yesterday I enjoyed the very great pleasure of a letter from you, dated the 19th, for which I most sincerely thank you; and for all tokens of favour which you have discovered to me in the sale of my book, and in various other respects. But

I cannot now take time to write you a long letter; you cannot think how I am hurried on many accounts, especially this hay harvest; but I have lately got a stroke upon my eye, which has very near deprived me of sight. It is with great difficulty that I distinguish the letters of a common Testament. I was not able to read my text yesterday, had I not known it by heart. I am better to-day; but it is with difficulty that I make out the meaning of your letter. This causes mortification, and compels to self-denial; but I hope it will be sanctified. I suppose you have heard of the letter I lately wrote to Mr. Ryland. The same requests I offered to him, I beg you would also indulge me with in answer to this. Am very glad that you intend coming soon into D———. Give me leave to adjure you by all that is sacred in the most inviolable friendship, by all that is tender in real compassion, by all that is sensible in a heart-felt sympathy, to favor me with your company one week at Wadsworth; that I may be happy in hearing you preach the everlasting gospel to my dear congregation, and in receiving your instructions with respect to the good management of my school, that weighty and awful concern! Let me know when you will be in D———, and what day you will come from thence to Wadsworth. Though I am strongly confined, yet I will venture to promise that, *Deo favente,** I will meet you there to bear you company forward to Wadsworth. I can talk with you then about my book and other things. God Almighty bless you. I have good entertainment for man and horse, and I believe none will be more welcome to both than yourselves, while my name is

DAN TAYLOR."

12. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, April 22, 1777.

"I hope your soul is happy, and your labours successful. Praised be the Lord, there is an appearance of great success in most of the places where we preach in Yorkshire, and at one place in Lancashire, which we have lately entered and succeeded in it; though all other preachers, for twenty or thirty years past, have been beaten out of it. The people are ignorant, and even barbarous beyond description. Five from thence have lately offered for baptism, whom I expect to baptize on the fifth of

* God assisting.

May. I still greatly wish to see you in Yorkshire. I am glad to hear that you are likely to settle at ——. I hope it will be a comfortable settlement and to the Redeemer's glory. We are beginning to build a meeting-house at Halifax. If our friends refuse to assist us in it, we must leave ourselves with God. I hope you will assist us in it, in your circle, in a proper time, if you can. God will reward you."

13. TO THE SAME.

"*Wadsworth, July 12, 1777.*

"I have had such an affair in hand this day as I never had before. Three men came to me, when at dinner, to inform me, that one of them was to go with the Devil, who would come for him at four o'clock. He seemed quite sensible, which affected me more. He related to me such circumstances, which I have not room here to mention, as astonished me. I spent the afternoon till after five o'clock with him. What will become of him God only knows; but I think he will go mad. I have been acquainted with him many years. O that cursed evil sin! What hath it done? God bless you!"

14. TO THE SAME.

"*Wadsworth, July 26, 1777.*

"As to preaching, your great Doctor, &c. I have only room to say—for God's sake, for Jesus' sake, for the sake of immortal souls, for the sake of your own soul, as you will answer it to the great Judge hereafter, let none of these things move you. Convert all the Doctor's parish, if possible. I do pray and will pray that you may not leave him one single hoof in darkness and slavery. I rejoice that Satan rages. I hope it is a good sign that Jesus bles ses. As to your character, alas! for those who can take notice of that! You know, my brother, that your reputation, compared with the salvation of one soul, is not so much worth as a speck of dust, compared with a mountain of gold. But I hope in God, if you are but faithful, fruitful, spiritual and prudent, you may yet be the more immediate, or more remote instrument of converting thousands. Whatever you do, let all your discourses be plentifully seasoned with the *Evangelici sales*,* and they will do good. If you see

* The Salt of the Gospel.

dear Mr. R. pray let my best and tenderest respects and sincere wishes for his prosperity be presented to him, and intreat him to ‘come over to Macedonia and help you.’—The people are certainly mad. Is not the soul of a servant as valuable as that of a prince? For the Lord’s sake, creep into every corner as prudence shall admit; and, if possible, preach Christ crucified to every servant in the county. When I speak of prudence, I do not mean that poor, mean, starched, dirty thing, sometimes called so among the beaus and the fops. I mean a noble, manly consideration of what is best, and most contributes to spread abroad the savour of a Redeemer’s name, and to convert precious souls. When you have considered that, pursue it with inflexible and invariable resolution, without regarding your own interest, advantage, &c.; keeping steadily in view the interest of Jesus, and the happiness of men. God Almighty bless you.”

15. TO THE SAME.

“Wadsworth, Dec. 22, 1777.

“I have just now received yours, and thank you for it. I heartily wish to be with you one Lord’s day, could I make it possible, consistent with other duties and demands. But present circumstances have obliged me to fix the following plan; and I have wrote to the churches accordingly, which I cannot see how to reverse. I come off from home next Monday morning; must preach at Epworth in the Isle that night, God willing, which is upwards of sixty miles. Tuesday, at Kirton; Wednesday, at Louth; Thursday, at Boston, and must stay one day at Beston; Saturday, at Fleet. As the Fleet church, you know, is not in connection with us, they only promise to collect for us on condition of my preaching to them one Lord’s day. You know, Fleet people are rich; I have therefore consented. At Sutton, on Monday. The Friendly Society have their annual meeting at Fleet, on the Tuesday, January 6th, and I am appointed the preacher; which will oblige me to stay there on Tuesday. Shall set out for you on Wednesday morning or Tuesday night. Shall stay with you till Friday, January 9th; must then return to Gosberton and Boston, and through the Marsh homewards. If I cannot have your money, I must come without it. The circumstances of my family, school, farm and church, will not admit of my absence more than three weeks; and you see my journey is crammed full of work.”

16. TO MR. THOMPSON.

"Wadsworth, Oct. 2, 1779

"Dear Brother Thompson,

"I was favoured with your's in due course, which I read with pleasure. Thanks be to God for the recovery of your health, and for the addition of so many to your church. May they be all eternally saved! I think too we ought to praise our God when he calls any of his children (such I think Mr. G——— was) out of this troublesome sinful world. O that blessed day when the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed! Let the sight and hope of it cheer our hearts while labouring up the hill! Glory be to God, we shall soon be at home. Let us exert ourselves for our good Saviour by the way. This will increase our best treasure, while we are enriching many others."

17. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, July 4, 1778.

"We abode at St. Ive's till after the Lord's day, and went to Cambridge on the Monday, where we spent some time. Stept over to see Mr. R———, and staid with him about three hours. I think he is a great man, and his conversation very entertaining. Thence we went forwards towards London about twenty miles; and arrived in town on Tuesday, where Mr. B——— came to us. We were extremely busy there the five days we were in town. We attended a trial for perjury at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield; Davenport was counsel for the plaintiff, and the celebrated Dunning for the defendant. Dunning pleased and exceedingly amazed me. O the abilities of that man! What ten thousand pities is it, that they are not employed more entirely for God! We applied to Mr. Thornton, who was free, but full of complaints, by reason of losses. He, however, gave us a guinea, as he said, 'with all his heart.' On the Saturday we went to Dr. Stennett's meeting, and heard Mr. Jenkyns from Wrexham. The doctor was very free and kind; but all in a bustle. He seemed extremely pleased to see me; often thanked me for my publications, and said he believed there was very little difference in judgment between him and me; very earnestly wished I could spend a day with him, and preach for him;

begged I would become a correspondent, and represent any case of necessity to him; desired me to accept of four guineas from him, and draw on him for it in two months; with many other tokens of the tenderest respect. I desire to give God the glory, and to consider it as a motive to be more diligent and more disinterested in the service of God; and to trust him more steadily with my concerns, and those of my family. On the Lord's day I preached at Park-Meeting-house in the morning, and at Mr. Brittain's in the afternoon. Brother Scott preached for Mr. Brittain in the morning, and at the Park in the afternoon; and brother Birley preached at Mr. Brittain's in the evening. I transcribed the circular letter, made the appointed alterations, saw it printed, and ordered it to be distributed as appointed at the Association. Came to Stony Stratford and preached there on Monday night; dined on Tuesday at Olney, and spent a few hours with my two friends, Mr. Sutcliff, the Baptist minister, and Mr. Whitford, the Independant. Preached, at night, at Barton Latimore; the next night at Moulton, and the Thursday night at Loughborough, to an amazing crowd; there being a person to be interred, and I being desired to preach a funeral sermon. Called at Nottingham on Friday morning, and got home safely on Saturday. Found family and friends well; thanks be to God for all his great goodness to me and mine! I hope to be in the Isle (of Axholme) as soon as I have done with my hay, which we shall begin next week, God willing. Grateful respects to Mrs. Thompson and Polly, and love to all friends."

"Your's, most cordially,

"DAN TAYLOR."

IS. TO MR. B.

"Wadsworth, Nov. 22, 1778.

"The particulars of my charge to brother Ingham, God willing, you shall have in a future letter; but I am so much engaged at present in writing a long letter to —— Mortimer, Esq. who is persecuting the Baptists in Derbyshire, that I would not turn my thoughts to any thing else till that be finished. He is a Member of Parliament. I must have the letter ready for the conference, December 8th: towards which I shall go out, God willing, December 2d or 3d."

19. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, January 19, 1779.

" Though I pity the impudent, hardened fellows; yet I am not displeased to hear that you have been disturbed, &c. I hope it is a sign that God is for you, and the Devil against you; and the Devil is afraid of losing ground in ——, and therefore rages. Let me charge to go on, prudently bold for your Master. He will not, he cannot disown you. I feel a most sensible pleasure and reviving of heart, when I read that 'religion rather gains ground among you.' God be praised! May he own and bless you more and more! Think of such passages as *Acts ix. 31.* and *1 Cor. xiii. 11:* and tell your people, God is faithful: and bid them to think of those passages".

20. TO THE SAME.

"Wadsworth, May 12, 1779.

" I beg to be excused from the excessive drudgery of giving you my remarks upon what your ingenious author says on *1 Cor. xv. 28.* My time is so taken up with various concerns, and the remarks are so large, that I know not how to do this by letter. Should I ever more be favoured with the opportunity of a day's conversation with you at Wadsworth, or ——, we can talk on the subject. My thoughts are that Christ, in the capacity of Mediator, as man, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwells; has received the kingly power in his church and over all things for his church's sake, as a reward for his sufferings in behalf of poor sinners. *Phil. ii. 5—12.* *Heb. ii. 9.* &c. &c. which office he will execute till the end of time; and then will surrender up the kingdom with himself, to be disposed of or subject to his heavenly Father; and shall no more exercise any mediatorial function, but shall be crowned and inconceivably happy among his saints for ever."

21. TO THE SAME

"Wadsworth, Oct. 8, 1779.

" As I had but just time to see the letter from Mr. W— to you, it was not possible for me to write you a long letter; and if nothing will atone for the shortness of my last; but sending you the notes of all my expositions, &c. I must remain

exposed to the penalty. For 1st. I have endeavoured to expound many parts of scripture, both in the Old and New Testaments, of which I never wrote any notes. My avocations and concerns are so various, that I have sometimes not time to write notes of my discourses at all, and sometimes but very short ones, not fit to be seen by any beside myself. 2nd. My notes are many of them taken from me, from year to year, soon after I have written them. Brethren J. Taylor, Ingham, Thompson, Birley, &c. &c. &c. &c. have often made so free with me, as to leave me very low in this kind of treasure. However I consider my notes of little worth; and if they will do any good or give any pleasure to any of my brethren, it is as much as I can expect, or desire. I once took it into my head, pursuant to your request, to try at a paraphrase, &c. on the prophet Isaiah; and employed a few hours in it, one day or two; but new concerns demanded my attention and I dropt it, though, with design, at some future opportunity to resume it. You will find the rough draft in the parcel directed for you, in Mr. W——'s Box, If you can make them out, I beg your thoughts, and *shall expect* you to return them, and other things when I have the great pleasure of seeing —. I also send you a copy of my plan of education, &c. which I beg you will make quite free with; and for a time, lend your whole attention to. Retrench, add, alter, &c. &c. as you think best; and let us try to have something perfect by the next Association. I wish you would amplify and print, and spread your letter to the General Baptist Churches on this head. I am daily more and more persuaded of the necessity and practicability of something of this kind, and if we do not stir in it, I do not know who will. The notes in the old ruffled book (silly creature that I am!) were written long ago: and there cannot be any thing in them worth your reading; only I am fond of gratifying you, otherwise I am ready to blush to send them. You will keep them secret till you return them. At the Association, all the preachers were present except one. Several were engaged in prayer, &c. and the three preachers chosen to preach were myself, brother Pickering, and brother Smith. I tried to give the charge; and, as brother Pickering so positively refused it, and the brethren in general pressed me to it, I yielded, though both unexpected, and therefore unprepared, to speak also to the deacons. The purport of what I said to them, you will guess

at by the notes in the parcel. The notes of my charge to the minister I left in his (that is) brother Deacon's hand: but I expect to receive it by and by; and, if worth seeing, will shew it you. It was on 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4. God Almighty bless you, my dear brother."

22. TO THE SAME. (*See page 115.*)

"Wadsworth, January 17, 1782

"Dearly beloved Brother,

"On the 31st of December I received your very affecting letter; it did indeed affect me much, and I wished, and laboured and contrived with great intenseness and concern, to see you, as those who were with me well know. But my plan of preaching at home and abroad, and other circumstances were such, that I could not see how to make it practicable. I wrote to you from Fleet by the coach, January 3d, and gave you a general account of my situation; most heartily condoling your distressing situation, and mentioning such brief hints of thought as appeared suitable. I expected an answer by return of coach, and then by the post; but received none. I am now returned home, and have been out three days in Lancashire, &c. attempting to preach the blessed gospel, according to engagement before my coming into Lincolnshire. I am only returned this afternoon, and am extremely anxious to hear of your state, and that of dear Mrs. B. who is, I trust, ere this time much recovered. I beg the favor of an answer by return of post."

"Let us ever remember, my dear brother, that nothing is certain in this uncertain world; we live daily on the brink of the grave, and every earthly comfort is fleeting and fading. God alone is all-sufficient and unchangeable. O the happiness that results here and eternally from having him for our portion! In the joyful sense of this, I hope my dear brother and the dear partner of his joys daily live. For I cannot think to give up Mrs. B. into the jaws of death yet, if God please; though, I believe your loss will be her unspeakable gain. As sure as we meet we must part. Death is, and will be ravaging families and neighbourhoods. Thanks be to him who has promised that 'this last enemy shall be destroyed.' O what a world! What a time will that be! Glory be to the name of the Lord for the charming, the delightful prospect! It shall surely be as the Lord

hath spoken. Then bosom friends shall be separated no more. Breaches in families be no more known: pains and disorders no more felt. Our kind father will for ever wipe away all tears from our eyes. ‘There shall be no more death.’”

“O, my dear brother, look up and exhort the dear partner of your life to look up to this inexpressibly happy world! and remember who has assured us, that he ‘that shall come will come, and will not tarry?’”

23. TO MR. THOMPSON.

“Wadsworth, June 6, 1782.

“Dearly beloved Brother,

“I had begun to answer your favour at Leicester, but visitants and labour came in so fast, that I could not properly go on with it. I now give you an account of my journey. On Friday, May 17, at five o’clock, I went out from home, as soon as I had dismissed my scholars. Walked fifteen miles that evening, and forty the next day, to Hatfield Woodhouse. I should have gone the seven miles farther to Epworth, had not the evening come on very rainy, and likely to be very dark; and the waters been so much out, that I understood it to be very dangerous venturing over St. Toft’s Common. I therefore stopt; and got to Epworth about seven o’clock the next morning. I preached at Butterwick in the forenoon, and rode on to Kirton; examined four persons, delivered a short discourse at the water, with prayer, and baptized them, in the afternoon; and preached in the evening. My good friends at Kirton insisted that I should take Miss T—’s pony, which I did the next morning, hoping to meet you at Mr. S—’s. I met with Messrs. J—. and B—. in the streets of Lincoln, who insisted that I should stay and preach that evening. They assured me that the waters were so out, that you would not be likely to come to Charlton; and that it would be unsafe and imprudent for me to venture thither. At last I consented to stay and preach; and next day went to Castle Donington, and the following morning to Melbourn. The Association being ended on Friday, I went to preach at Castle Donington that evening. Next evening at Quorndon; and, on Lord’s day, had the pleasure of hearing Mr. R—. at Leicester. I preached there in the afternoon and evening to very great crowds. I met the few people on Mon-

day, and gave them advice respecting settling in a church state, &c. Preached again to a vast crowd. Next night, I preached at Nottingham to the house crammed full, and many without doors. Next night, at Gamston; at eleven the next morning, at Retford; and that evening, at Misterton. On Friday morning, I baptized five persons at Epworth; delivered a discourse at the water-side to a crowd of very attentive spectators, and preached at noon at the meeting-house well filled. I intended to have immediately gone off towards home, but their intreaties were so importunate, and the people so attentive and apparently so affected, that I was quite overcome, and yielded to preach again in the evening: when we had a large congregation. Next morning, I set off, on my frightful journey for home. Rode on Mr. A—'s galloway about twenty-four miles; and after that walked thirty-eight: which, with the rain and the deep mire, tired me very substantially. Yet I bless God I was so refreshed with sleep, that I went through the business of the next day, of preaching three times, keeping a children's meeting, a short church meeting, and a leaders' meeting, with moderate ease and pleasure. God knows, I desire to give him the praise."

24. TO THE SAME, ON THE DEATH OF MRS. T.

"*London, August 6, 1784.*

"Dearly beloved Brother,

"After very long and tedious journey, I arrived, through divine mercy, safe in London the evening before last; and preached that evening. Yesterday I dined with Dr. Stennett, and was under the indispensible necessity of writing five letters, relating to my future journeys. I mention this as an apology for my not writing immediately to you, for whom I feel sensations of sympathy not easy to be expressed. I saw the account of dear Mrs. Thompson's departure, of which indeed I expected all my journey to be informed; and much wondered that she continued so long as she did: for I had no hopes of her recovery, as I informed my wife after my return from Boston."

"I feel for you, my dear Brother; and feel for dear Miss Thompson. But death is the fate of all men. We shall follow soon; and it will be our advantage to live in daily expectation of it. It becomes me with gratitude to confess that *my* loss is not small, but *your's* is much greater. It, however, be-

comes us both to remember, that our Almighty Saviour lives for ever: and blessed be his glorious name! He has the keys of the unseen world, and of death. He has the same care over my dear hostess and invaluable friend now, which he had while she was studying and promoting my happiness, and more peculiarly promoting your's. The same Almighty Saviour, my dear brother, still knows and cares for you, and dear Miss Thompson, and unworthy me. O that we may always trust in him, and praise his glorious name! To him be glory and praise for ever!"

"The time will come, my dear brother, when that promise: 'the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death,' will be explained and fulfilled to us both. Then shall ravages in families be made no more! But all real saints shall be united under one head, in one body, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted and everlasting delight, without sin, without sorrow, without pain, and without fear. Happy indeed are the people who are in such a case! Let us look forward to this day, and rejoice in the prospect of it! Let us be continually laying up treasure above. The day will soon come, when, as I suppose, your eyes and mine shall see the dear Mrs. Thompson again. And, O inexpressible consolation! we shall see her Saviour and our Saviour, her God and our God, through endless ages!"

"God forbid that dear Miss Thompson should, at that tremendous day, see her tender and affectionate parent in the bosom and on the throne of the adorable Jesus, and the amiable daughter should hear it said, 'Depart from me.' O distracting consideration! My dear young lady, let me persuade you not to 'neglect that great salvation' which the Lord the Saviour has provided for you, at the expence of his invaluable blood; and which you are as welcome to enjoy as a God of love can make you. This is a loud call, dear Miss, 'to prepare to go hence.' It is a loud call, 'to be reconciled to God.' O let it not at last be said, 'Because I called and ye refused; I stretched out my hand and ye regarded not; therefore I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.' Rather, 'O taste and see that the Lord is good!' Experience the truth of that declaration, 'they that seek me early shall find me.' 'O seek the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is near.' Then, my amiable young friend, will the Lord be your God; and your dear parent's Saviour, your Saviour and your everlasting portion."

" And you, my esteemed brother, may you by this affecting stroke, be weaned from the things that are seen, and animated in your heavenly race: that the partner of your earthly joys may at length welcome you to the world of glory. To Jesus commit yourself still more confidently; to Him devote yourself still more seriously and ardently; and by Him you shall certainly, in a little time, begin the song of victory and triumph, which you shall continue for ever and ever."

25. TO THE SAME. (*See p. 124 & 125 preceding.*

The following Extracts from Mr. Dan Taylor's Letters on Mr. Hall's 'HELP TO ZION'S TRAVELLERS', are inserted, partly as containing a fair Statement of the Writer's Views on some important Subjects, and partly as exhibiting his Candour towards those who differed from him in sentiment. It is hoped that they will assist in clearing his character both from the charge of heresy and bigotry.

" Wadsworth, Jan. 31, 1784.

" Dearly beloved Brother,

" Whatever you, or Mr. Hall may think, I am not, so far as I know myself, an 'opposer of sovereign grace'. My sins and wretchedness are such, that I have nothing else to rejoice in, or to hope for good from. Yet I confess, I do look upon sovereign grace as proceeding from a gracious Sovereign, that is, one who 'delighteth in mercy,' *Micah vii. 18*, and is 'not willing that any should perish' among all his guilty subjects, *2 Pet. iii. 9*: though according to his infinite dignity, and his infinite wisdom, he sees it necessary to punish, in the manner, and by the methods and rules laid down in his word. On this account, I may, possibly, have the infelicity of differing with the pious author of the '*Help to Zion's Travellers*'. This, however, I am very sure of, that if I should differ from him, it is not because I take any delight in differing from others, but always feel very sensible pain when I am obliged to it, especially from men of seriousness, godliness and wisdom."

" Our author's next subject is that of *Election* and *Reprobation*. Awful subject indeed! This is the first time, so far as I remember, that I ever gave my thoughts of them in writing. I am very sensible the difficulties attending them, especially the

former, are not few nor small, and perhaps more and greater than I am able to remove. But as you desire and expect it, I will tell you with simplicity, the views I have of them, hoping and entreating that you will be quite free in your remarks on what I write."

"Mr. H. chuses to consider them distinctly, as he apprehends (p. 50) they are not related to each other. It is the part of candour and equity in me to consider them in the same order. He begins with election, p. 42, but is very short upon it. He first mentions three ideas, which he says 'are inseparably connected with election, or a proper choice, whatever kind of election we refer to, whether made by God or man.' These are 'freedom in him who makes the choice—an end to be accomplished by the choice—and passiveness in the person who is chosen.' I am not sure that I understand his third idea. I should suppose, from the strain of his argument, that his meaning is, that no one is properly chosen, or elected, if he make use of any efforts in order to obtain that favour or honour. But if this be Mr. H's. meaning, it is certainly an oversight. The contrary is most fully manifest in every branch of civil and religious life. Do not all representatives in parliament, for instance, exert themselves in order to obtain the favour and choice of the respective counties and boroughs throughout the nation? And yet are they not chosen to their office? Do not all ranks of men take the same methods in numerous instances? Is there a physician, a lawyer, or a clergyman who does not thus labour to obtain the favour of patients, clients and parishioners, in order to be chosen by them? May we not descend to the very lowest concerns in this enquiry? Is it not common for both sexes to take this method in order to obtain that choice which precedes marriage? And yet these are all properly chosen. So that in this sense it cannot be necessary that the person chosen be 'considered as passive,' and consequently 'this idea is not inseparably connected with election.' If the pious author's meaning be different from what I here suppose, I wish I were able to discern it, or to see the pertinency of it, in the present case."

"He goes on, pursuant to his design, to make a few wise and proper concessions, for the clearing of which he takes notice of the different senses in which election is to be understood in scripture, and then fixes upon that which he intends particularly

to illustrate. He treats the subject with brevity, and only in a general way, without much nicety respecting circumstances. This, I think, is a proof of the good gentleman's wisdom, considering how much the doctrine itself, and especially the circumstances of it, have been the subject of contention for fourteen hundred years past. For, so far as I have yet learned, these matters were not disputed about in the christian church till the days of Austin; and considering how much the best and greatest of men both do differ, and have, in many ages, differed on this head, I wish to speak of it with modesty and caution."

" As our author is not quite so explicit as I could wish, I ask leave to state what appears to me to be his idea of this great divine transaction; and then I would tell you the view that I have of it, and the reasons why I find myself obliged to differ from him respecting it. He apprehends, if I rightly understand him, as many others also do, ' that the blessed God, before the world began, fixed upon a certain number of the human race, as his people, and absolutely determined to bring them to glory; while he passed by all the rest of mankind, without providing any salvation for them, or ever intending to do any thing for them that might contribute to their recovery from the fall, or make them happy in the next world.' He does not determine whether this choice 'respected its objects as *sinless*, or as *criminal*,' p. 56, 57; and therefore I do not see that I have any thing to observe on that point here. The view which I have formed of this doctrine is this: ' It appears to me that the great and blessed Author of our being, when man had fallen, or when he saw that man would fall, fixed upon a glorious method of recovery, by the removal of our guilt through the blood of his Son, and the renewal of our hearts by the operation of his Spirit, that he therefore gave his dear Son to die for a miserable and sinful world, and takes such methods to bring sinners to himself, as his infinite wisdom sees best—that as he knew from eternity who would be brought to himself through faith in his Son, by the methods he should make use of, and who would finally resist these methods, he determined, according to this foreknowledge, to save the former, and consign the latter to endless misery.' As I must confess I have thought much on the subject, however ignorant or mistaken I may be respecting it, I imagine with myself that much may be said in vindication of

that view of it which I have here given. But I do not think it proper to enlarge upon it here. I will therefore only mention a few plain things in favour of it."

1. "I have not yet observed that this view of the subject is contrary to any single passage of scripture; though there may be some difficulties in reconciling it to the views we may some of us have formed of some passages. I think, on the other hand, that Mr. H.'s view of the subject is very evidently contrary both to the scope and letter of many passages; among which I reckon those mentioned below."

2. "It seems evidently to concord with all those scriptures which clearly express the love, pity and goodness of God to all mankind: as *Psalm cxlv. 9*; *Ezek. xviii. 32*; *xxxiii. 11*; *1 Tim. ii. 4*; *2 Pet. iii. 9*, &c. Whereas Mr. Hall's view of the matter, to me, seems opposite to all these scriptures."

3. "It seems further corroborated by all those scriptures which very expressly tell us that Christ died for all, &c.: as *2 Cor. v. 14, 15*; *1 Tim. ii. 6*; *Heb. ii. 9*; *1 John ii. 2*, &c. And indeed the truth appears to me to run through the whole New Testament, where the death of Christ, and the way of salvation is spoken of. But it seems to me quite contrary to Mr. H.'s view of the doctrine now in question."

4. "The view of the subject which I give above, appears perfectly agreeable to all those passages which assure us that the blessings of the gospel are provided for all, and the messages of life and salvation are to be proclaimed to all: as *Isaiah xxxv. 6*; *Luke ii. 10*; *Mark xvi. 15, 16*; *Matt. xxii. 1—15*, compared with *Luke xiv. 16—25*, &c. Whereas, according to the contrary explication of this great doctrine, it is certain that these blessings are only prepared for a few. And I, for my part, cannot see how, on that principle, we can preach the gospel, (that is, proclaim *good tidings*) to any body. For the essence of the gospel is, that 'Christ died for our sins,' *1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3*. All our comfort and hope, and all the real comfort and hope of any man alive, where the scriptures are known, arise from this spring; and consequently, how can I tell good tidings to any persons alive, if I cannot assure them that Christ died for them? And how can I do this, if he only died for a few, and I cannot tell them who these few are?"

5. "This view of the doctrine now in question, appears per-

fectedly consistent with all those scriptures which speak of the *reason* or *cause* of men's final condemnation. But Mr. H.'s idea of it seems quite opposite to all these scriptures. They do not ascribe men's final condemnation to their not being elected, which on Mr. H.'s principle is, if I apprehend right, the only reason why non-elect sinners are not saved; but to their disobedience to the gospel, their unbelief, their neglecting the great salvation, &c. *Prov.* i. 24—28; *John* iii. 18, 36; *2 Thes.* i. 8, 10, 11, 12; *Heb.* iii. 19; iv. 1, 2, 11, &c."

6. "The explication of the doctrine which I have given above, seems most perfectly to coincide with those scriptures which speak of Election as being 'according to the foreknowledge of God,' as *Rom.* viii. 29, §1. *1 Pet.* i. 2, and 'through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.' *2 Thes.* ii. 13. For, as the great God had most certainly the foreknowledge of every man, and every thing; he must here speak of foreknowing something, with respect to these persons, particular and different from what he foreknew in others; and as he invariably determines and declares that believers shall be saved, and unbelievers shall be damned, I think it most natural to conclude that what he foreknew with respect to them was their 'sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth,' through which he 'chose them to salvation.' I may add here, that on this ground it is evident, as our author justly observes, that God did not chuse them 'because they *were*' but that they might be holy. But it is not asserted, that I know of, in the scripture, that God chose them *to believe*, but 'through belief of the truth,' &c. Compare *Ephes.* i. 4. *2 Thes.* ii. 13. This leads me to observe yet farther."

7. "That I apprehend this view of the doctrine perfectly harmonizes with those scriptures which describe the characters of the elect of God. The scriptures, if I mistake not, always speak of God's elect, *in the sense now before us*, as being converted persons, and in such kind of language as to exclude all others from being considered of the number of God's elect. See *Psalm* iv. 3; *Luke* xviii. 7; *Col.* iii. 12; *James* ii. 5. I shall only add one consideration more, in this view, at present, viz.

8. "That I am further confirmed in my views on this head, from those scriptures which describe the character of the repro-

bate. For Mr. H. has not convinced me, by all he has said on the subject, that Reprobation is not the opposite of Election. And it is undeniable, that the scripture character of the reprobate is most directly opposite to the scripture character of the elect. Compare the passages last referred to, with *2 Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Tit. i. 16*; which are, I think, the only places in the New Testament where persons are called reprobate."

" You may probably think, that I have not been sufficiently explicit in declaring my own ideas of *Adoption*. I have confessed that it may be considered as prior to regeneration, in the order of nature; though I cannot, for the reasons above given, look upon adoption as prior to faith. You will observe, that I said, in the order of *nature*; for, in order of *time*, I do not apprehend there is much difference between a person's being adopted and regenerated. According to my experience of divine things, and according to the experience of most or all I have yet conversed with, who appear to have 'tasted that the Lord is gracious,' and more especially according to the scripture account of things, my thoughts on the subject are these—

" I consider man, by nature, as a poor, guilty, miserable creature, 'altogether become filthy,' having nothing in or from himself but sin, till he come to embrace Christ by faith. I consider Christ as possessing every good which the poor sinner can possibly need, to make him completely holy and happy; according to *Col. i. 19*, and the whole tenor of the gospel. When the sinner is convinced of his guilt, ruin and helplessness, and brought to understand who the blessed Jesus is, and what he has done for him, and his ability and readiness to save him to the uttermost; and is thus brought to venture his wretched soul on the all-mighty and all-gracious Saviour, by an humble confidence in him, he receives all blessings from the blessed Redeemer's fulness, *John i. 16*: and, by virtue of union with him, he is intitled to, and possessed of a free, full salvation, in all its parts and branches, *1 Cor. i. 30*; and adoption amongst the rest. One of the blessings also that he receives by faith, is the Holy Spirit; sometimes called 'the Spirit of Christ,' and sometimes, 'the Spirit of God;' for in Deity, I conceive, 'Christ and the

Father are one.' That the sinner thus receives the Spirit, I learn, not only from experience, but from many passages of scripture. Among these see the following: *John vii. 39*; *Gal. ii. 3. 14*; *Eph. i. 14*. See especially the greek of this last passage. By the Spirit, the love of God is shed abroad in his heart, *Rom v. 5*. It is in him a fountain of holiness and comfort, *John iv. 14*; *vii. 38*. So that now being restored to the love and image of God, he is born again or regenerated. These are my views. I submit them to your censure."

"I must confess myself strongly inclined to Mr. H.'s views of the doctrine of *atonement*, in every branch of them, as far as I observe; unless in some very few expressions which seem to imply a limitation that I think the scriptures does not countenance. On the whole, however, I venture to make two remarks. One is, that I think the doctrine of atonement, and every other doctrine of scripture, appears to most advantage in the simplicity in which the sacred writers have left it: and that too much nicety respecting the circumstances of it, frequently does more harm than good. The other is, that when we are discussing matters of intricacy, in which the greatest and best of men have been differently minded, modesty and calmness of temper are peculiarly proper."

"Mr. H.'s next design is to remove the stumbling-blocks out of the way of Zion's Travellers relating to *Christian Experience*. On this head, our author, in my humble opinion, has expressed himself with great judgment in many places. O that there were many more such workmen than there are, who need not be ashamed! who know how to separate 'the precious from the vile,' and to place scriptural and genuine christianity in its true light. If it should appear to the over nice critic, that every clause on this head is not exactly in point, (which may be the case with any writer on any subject) yet our author sufficiently evinces the impossibility of forgiveness without repentance. To be sure, if I had the pleasure of sitting at the good gentleman's elbow, I might be inclined to ask whether some expressions might not be changed for the better. Yet, I

so entirely hate contention about trifles; and his leading views on the subject seem to me so scriptural and so excellent, that I cannot persuade myself to take any critical notice of these expressions."

"The *new birth*, the *joys* and *sorrows* of the true christian, and the *doubts* that sometimes arise from internal depravity in the real saint, are the next subjects of experimental religion, of which Mr. H. treats: p. 131—146. On all which, according to my judgment, he makes wise and judicious remarks; such as are founded on scripture, and calculated to promote the interests of holiness and the peace of the genuine followers of the Lamb.—When I find, from time to time, that good men are so nearly the same on these *experimental* subjects, I can hardly restrain my grief upon reflecting that they differ so widely, and especially that they are sometimes so ready to be angry with one another, on other matters. I think, however, that I receive one advantage from it. It endears heaven to me; and raises my heart in the prospect of that happy day and world, where they shall certainly 'see eye to eye,' and 'know as they are known,' for ever and ever."

"Mr. H. gives us a delightful account of the holiness and happiness that result from vital union with Christ, p. 63, &c.; which is only one instance among ten thousand in proof of this cheering truth, that, however true believers may think differently in more abstruse or speculative matters, they generally agree in their experience: and therefore that it is exceedingly wrong and inconsistent for them to jar and contend, and quarrel and call foul names, in their way to that heaven, where, in a little time, all darkness and confusion shall be for ever removed."

CHAPTER THIRD.

FROM MR. D. TAYLOR'S REMOVAL TO LONDON TO THE TIME
OF HIS DEATH.

SECTION I. *The Transactions of that Period.*

1785. Mr. D. TAYLOR, with his wife and nine children, arrived in London, in good health, on Friday evening, July 27, 1785. His friends had taken a house for him in Turville Street, Bethnal Green; and kindly exerted themselves towards furnishing and preparing it for the reception of the family. They were affectionately received on their arrival; and, considering the novelty of the scene, found themselves comfortably situated. On August 15th, Mr. and Mrs. T. were cordially admitted into full fellowship with the society in Church Lane: the one being dismissed from Halifax, and the other from Birchcliff. A special church-meeting was held, Aug. 22, when an unanimous and affectionate invitation was given to Mr. T. to become co-pastor with Mr. Brittain, which he accepted. On Wednesday, Sept. 22, this transaction was publicly recognized before a large assembly; when Mr. Thompson delivered a charge to his valued friend, and Mr. S. Deacon preached to the people. Dr. Stennett had consented to deliver the charge, but was prevented. On the following Lord's day, four persons were ordained to the office of Deacons, to whom Mr. T. addressed a suitable discourse.

Mr. T. entered upon the important station to which he was thus called with his usual energy. His venerable colleague withdrew, in a great measure, from the active duties of the pastoral office, and left them to his younger brother, who discharged them with diligence and zeal. He preached generally three times every Lord's day, and on the Thursday evening, to his own people; and not long after his settling with them, he appropriated an hour weekly to the catechising of their children. He also was soon invited to assist his brethren of other denomina-

nations in supporting public lectures, and supplying destitute congregations. Before his ordination, he had preached at the lecture in Little St. Helen's; and frequently for the church in Fetter Lane, afterwards under the care of Mr. A. Austin. His labours were made successful. The congregation at Church Lane soon improved in numbers and attention; and, before the close of the year, several offered themselves as candidates for fellowship.

But though Mr. T. justly considered the station in which he was now fixed as very important and demanding peculiar regard, yet he did not think it to be his duty to devote his whole attention to it. He was esteemed throughout the Connection as the common friend and guardian; and was frequently called to visit country churches on business of public importance. In the early part of the negotiations with the Loudon friends, he had therefore candidly stated to them, that his connections with the country churches, and his influence among them, would probably oblige him frequently to visit them, and consequently to be absent from his own charge; and desired them, in order to prevent future dissatisfaction, to consider seriously whether this did not render it improper for them to seek for him as a pastor. At his request, this subject was discussed, at a church-meeting, June 13, 1785; and it was unanimously agreed, that "Mr. T. should be left to his full liberty respecting his journeys; being well persuaded that he will not be absent more sabbaths than he can well avoid." He soon found it necessary to avail himself of this indulgence. In a letter, dated Aug. 23, 1785, he tells his friend Mr. Thompson, "I have lately preached twice at Canterbury and once at Chatham; and expect to be at Berkhamstead, &c. in a week or two; so that you see I am hobbling about still. Pray for me." The week after his ordination, he set out again on a journey to Norwich, to set in order a number of persons who had left the Methodists, and professed themselves General Baptists. These he organized as a church, and ordained their preacher, Mr. Wright, to the pastoral office over them. On this occasion, Mr. T. went through all the parts of this solemn work, unassisted by any other minister. In his way homewards, he attended the Lincolnshire Conference at March, and returned to his family in the beginning of October.

1786. The old General Baptists, in their zeal to lay aside the inventions of men, banished singing, as practised in most congregations, out of public worship. In the seventeenth century, much contention had been raised on this subject, and some divisions caused by it. At the time of the formation of the New Connection, and for many years afterwards, singing was disused in most of the churches belonging to the Lincolnshire Association; and this was one source of difference between them and the congregations of the New Connection, who practised singing. In the course of 1785, Mr. G. Boyce, the messenger, published “Serious Thoughts on the present Mode of Singing in the Public Worship of God;” intended to vindicate himself and friends in the omission of it, and to expose the errors of those who adopted it: in which he very unceremoniously challenged the latter to defend their conduct. As usual, in cases of this nature, Mr. T. was looked up to by his friends, as their defender; but his regard for the venerable author of the “Serious Thoughts,” and his other pressing engagements, rendered him very averse to enter the lists on this occasion. This aversion was encreased on reading Mr. B.’s tract, from a fear that he should not be able to do justice to the subject, and yet manifest that respect which is due to the hoary head, especially when found in the way of righteousness. A private letter, however, which he received Dec. 23, 1785, from the author, which probably contained some strong defiance, determined him to break silence; and, accordingly, early in this year, he published “A Dissertation on Singing in the Worship of God: interspersed with occasional Strictures on Mr. Boyce’s late Tract.” In this pamphlet, Mr. T. not only vindicated the practice of the churches with which he stood connected; but took the opportunity of introducing many sensible and useful directions and cautions, as to the most proper and edifying mode of conducting this pleasing part of worship. The author exhibits considerable ability, both in parrying the attacks of his opponent and in producing his own arguments: but, as the scriptures contain no particular rules for the conducting of public worship, he could only apply the general directions to his purpose; and there is not perhaps that conclusiveness in his reasonings, as on some other subjects. In one or two instances also, his want of acquaintance with the history of the ancient English General Baptists, led him into mis-statements; which, in his circumstances, it was not easy to avoid.

But our author was led at this time to engage in a controversy on a subject much more important than the mode of singing. Mr. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, afterwards the celebrated secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, who was then rising into eminence, had for some time felt his ardour in preaching the gospel checked by the system of doctrine which he had embraced. Many of his associates, he observed carefully avoided those earnest and universal invitations to sinners which distinguished the addresses of scripture; and have characterized the preaching of many of the most pious and successful ministers of the gospel in every age of the church. This induced him to consider the subject; and, after several years of doubt, he fixed on a scheme, which, as he thought, would sanction the free use of the universal calls of scripture, and yet preserve his favourite opinion unshaken. He first defined faith to be the belief of the truth; or the crediting of the testimony which God has given in the gospel; and then, because the moral law makes it the duty of all men to believe the testimony of God, concludes that faith in Christ is the duty of all men, sinners as well as saints: and that therefore all men ought to be invited and exhorted to practise this duty. In vindication and explanation of this system, Mr. F. published, in 1785, a large pamphlet, under the title of "The Gospel of Christ worthy of all Acceptation: or, the Obligations of Men fully to credit and cordially to approve whatever God makes known." In this treatise, various topics, either immediately or more remotely connected with the principal subject, are discussed; and great pains taken to guard the doctrines of calvinism, and to shew that the author's scheme is consistent with the decrees of God, particular redemption, &c.

This publication excited considerable attention, and roused a strong opposition. The high Calvinists, who first took the alarm, betrayed great apprehensions lest the concessions of the author should undermine their peculiar system; and various replies and animadversions on the work were published by writers of that party. Those, on the contrary, who opposed the distinguishing tenets of Calvin, rejoiced that the force of truth had compelled so able a man to yield so much; and thought the agitation of this subject afforded a favourable opportunity of stating and defending their own sentiments. Among others, Mr. Birley, of St. Ives, who was personally acquainted with

Mr. Fuller, felt a strong wish that this occasion should be improved, and the tendency of his principles examined. He therefore put Mr. F.'s treatise into the hands of his friend Mr. D. T. with an earnest request, that he would read it attentively, and favour him with his remarks on it. Many other ministers of the New Connection joined heartily in the same request; and some besought him with tears to undertake the work, assuring him of their continual and fervent prayers for his success. Thus urged, Mr. T. at length complied; and, in nine letters, addressed to his friend Mr. B. signed *Philanthropos*, he endeavoured to establish Mr. Fuller's leading proposition, that the gospel ought to be preached to every man, and that it is the duty of every man to believe and accept it. But then Mr. T. did not derive this obligation to believe from the injunctions of the moral law, as Mr. F. had done: he took very different ground. He contended that universal invitations and exhortations must pre-suppose that provision is made for the salvation of all men, by the death of Christ for all, or they would be mockery to perishing sinners, and inconsistent with the justice and goodness of the adorable Jehovah. Thus he endeavoured to prove the universality of the atonement made by the death of Christ, from the universality of the invitations to believe in him, admitted by Mr. F. Mr. T. however, did not rest his cause wholly on this argument; but introduced a very convincing, though concise view of the direct scripture evidence of his favourite doctrine, that Christ died for the sins of all mankind. This was the leading object of Mr. T.'s animadversion; but several other collateral subjects were discussed in the pamphlet which was published in the beginning of 1786, under the title of "Observations on the Rev. A. Fuller's late pamphlet, entitled, 'The Gospel of Christ worthy of all Acceptation?' in which it is attempted farther to confirm his leading Idea, that 'Faith in Christ is the duty of all Men who hear the sound of the Gospel,' by proving that the universal Calls and Invitations of the Gospel are founded on the Universality of Divine Love to sinful Man, and on the Death of Jesus Christ, as a Propitiation for the Sins of the *whole* World. In Nine Letters to a Friend. By a Lover of all Mankind."

After a lapse of more than a year, Mr. F. published "A Defence of a Treatise, entitled 'The Gospel of Christ worthy of all Acceptation'; containing a Reply to Mr. Button's

Remarks and the Observations of Philanthropos." In a postscript, it is stated that 'the foregoing Reply would have appeared much sooner, had it not been for family afflictions.' May 30, 1786, Mr. F. it appears, lost a daughter by death, in her seventh year, which seems to have deeply affected him. In this pamphlet, Mr. F. treated his opponent with considerable respect, commended the spirit in which his observations were written, and made several important concessions. Instead of replying regularly to the objections of Philanthropos, he reduced the subject of the controversy into four questions, and discussed them in distinct sections. This indeed gave it a systematic form: but it tended to divert the attention of the reader from the principal object; and by displacing and disjointing the arguments and reasonings of his antagonist, sometimes weakened their strength.

In a few months after the appearance of Mr. F.'s Reply, in 1787, Mr. T. printed "Observations on Mr. Fuller's Reply to Philanthrophos: or a further Attempt to prove that the universal Invitations of the Gospel are founded on the Universality of Divine Love, and the Death of Jesus Christ as the Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World. In Thirteen Letters to a Friend." To these Letters he affixed his name; and, in the commencement of them, avowed himself the author of the former. Mr. T. in this correspondence, charges his opponent with overlooking many of the arguments of which he had availed himself in the Nine Letters, which he therefore supposed remained unweakened. And it seems he was not singular in this opinion. Mr. J. Martin, who wrote largely against Mr. F. on high calvinistic principles, observes; "Should our author be hurt that so much of his Treatise and Defence appears to be overlooked, when he recollects in what manner he himself thought it most prudent to answer one of his friends, Mr. D Taylor, it is presumed he will not imagine the present mode of reply was preferred for want of due respect." Mr. T. did not charge Mr. F. with any improper motive, either in omitting his reasonings, or in some occasional instances of palpable misrepresentation, which he found it necessary to notice. Our author followed Mr. F. through his Reply, and answered the objections which he had made, or acknowledged their pertinency. He did not indeed think it prudent to spend much time on several parts of

his opponent's performance, in which he had introduced topics foreign to the main subject of the controversy, to which Mr. T. wished to fix the attention of the reader; and for this reason, he declined the discussion of several important questions which Mr. F. had started. These Letters display great acquaintance with the scriptures, a thorough knowledge of the subject, and considerable powers of reasoning. They were well received, and soon reached a second Edition.

Hostilities were now suspended; and it was supposed that the contest was concluded; but when the second edition of the Thirteen Letters had been long before the public, after a truce of nearly three years, a pamphlet made its appearance, in 1790, under the title of "The Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace; with the certain success of Christ's Sufferings in behalf of all who are finally saved; considered in a Series of Letters to the Rev. A. Fuller; containing Remarks on the Observations of the Rev. Dan Taylor, on Mr. Fuller's Reply to Philanthropos. By *Agnostos*." As these Letters were addressed to Mr. F. and contained many very favourable representations of the ability and success with which he had conducted the controversy, it was concluded that they were the production of a friend and admirer; and a respectable Particular Baptist minister, with whom Mr. F. was in habits of great intimacy, was generally reputed to be the author. It had indeed lately been suspected, that Mr. F. furnished some important hints to the writer, and that some parts of this correspondence bespeaks the same hand as his former publications; but it was not supposed that Agnostos was a mere man of straw. After Mr. F.'s death, when the reasons for concealment no longer existed, the publishers of the posthumous Edition of his works, have informed us, that, except one or two pages, these letters were Mr. F.'s own production; and have included them as such in their collection. They have indeed changed the title, and instead of "Letter to Mr. F." called them "Letters by Mr. F." and throughout the correspondence substituted the first person for the second. This was a manœuvre to which we could hardly have expected that the stern Mr. F. would have stooped. His friends have suggested what they think might induce him to assume the mask; and we leave the reader to form his own judgment how far they have satisfactorily accounted for it. It was a little singular, that

Mr. T. who entered the lists in a disguise, should acquire courage, in the course of the contest, to throw it aside and avow himself to the world; and that Mr. F. who had commenced the combat in the open day, should see it prudent, in the last action, to wrap himself in a veil which death alone could remove.

The Letters of Agnostos occupy ninety-two closely printed pages, 12mo. and contain a laboured review of the conducting of the controversy by both parties. Agnostos, or as it now appears, Mr. F. *very naturally* gives the advantage both in matter and manner to his own productions; and sometimes makes his friend address him in terms which must have an amusing effect when turned into the first person, and thus transformed into compliments paid by himself to his own excellencies. One object of the writer is to persuade the readers that the combatants were nearly of the same sentiments on many of the points in debate: and this proximity is generally produced, by deducing forced consequences from Mr. T's. positions, or accusing him of misunderstanding terms. Though it must be allowed that, in several cases, Mr. F. informs himself that he may make important concessions to his adversary, and advises him so to do. Mr. F. in the person of his imaginary correspondent, concludes the dispute, on his part, in this friendly manner “Whatever I may think of his sentiments, my good opinion of Mr. T.'s integrity and piety is not lessened by this controversy; and from what I know of you I can answer for the same in respect of yours. Heartily desirous that every divine blessing may attend us all, and that we may each be led into the truth as it is in Jesus, I remain &c.”

When the Letters of Agnostos appeared, Mr. F. very politely sent a copy of them to Mr. T. who in a few weeks published a small tract which he called “The Friendly Conclusion: occasioned by the Letters of Agnostos to the Rev. A. Fuller, respecting the Extent of our Saviour's Death, and other Subjects connected with that Doctrine. In Four Letters to a Friend.” In which he took a formal leave of the controversy. He assigned as the reasons for declining it, his disinclination to controversy, his unwillingness to tread over the same ground with every *new* Antagonist, the manner of Mr. A's writing which he should be sorry to imitate; but especially the agreement in opinion on the most important subjects on which the dispute had been maintained, which now appeared in all parties. Here Mr. T. turned the tables on

Agnostos, and endeavoured to shew, by pertinent extracts from their own treatises, that both Mr. F. and Agnostos had come over to his sentiments. This has been styled “an unseasonable and unfounded triumph;” and, it is said, to have been “so completely disgusting, that it was some time before Mr. F. could be induced to read this last act of the drama, and longer still before he could forget what appeared to him, at the time, an act of disingenuousness.”* Whether it was “unfounded” or not must be left to the judgment of the candid reader, when he has attentively read and compared the publications of both parties. That it was “seasonable,” can hardly be doubted, when it is recollectcd that Agnostos had set the example; and, by his extraordinary publication, had reduced Mr. T. to the necessity of removing the impression which that writer had endeavoured to produce, by proving to the public, that he had not relinquished his own sentiments. When Mr. M’s. statement first appeared, the writer of the present memoir enquired of Mr. T. whether he was aware that the publication of the “Friendly Conclusion” had given such offence to Mr. F. He said that he believed a transient feeling of that nature had existed; but that it was, he understood, wholly removed by some mutual explanations, at a personal interview, which took place not long afterwards. And it is well known, that, in following years, these two ministers were on friendly terms; and that on two occasions, Mr. F. preached for the charitable institutions at Church Lane.†

Thus ended this protracted controversy; in which our author was thought, by many competent judges, to have displayed great ability, and ably and successfully defended the cause of truth. The principal combatants indeed retained, in a great measure, their original sentiments, though on both sides some important explanations and concessions were made. Mr. T. had good reason to believe that his labour had not been in vain; but had been blessed as the means of enlightening the minds, and confirming the faith of many. His chief design, in beginning and continu-

* Morris’ Memoirs of Fuller, p. 293.

† May 25, 1806, Mr. Fuller preached for the Church Lane Sunday School; and June 6, 1807, for the Church Lane Friendly Society for visiting the Sick. When the deputation from one of these Institutions waited on him to request his assistance, they asked him, whether he would prefer preaching at Church Lane, or at some other Meeting-house; to which Mr. F. instantly replied: “I had much rather preach in Mr. T.’s pulpit, to convince the world that perfect cordiality subsists between him and myself.” This he accordingly did on both occasions.

ing this dispute, was to establish the great truth, that Christ died for the sins of all mankind, and that by his death provision was made for the salvation of all the fallen race. He pleaded this cause with that ardour which always animated his soul when he was treating on this his favourite doctrine, which he esteemed “the very glory of the gospel.” He pressed his adversary with vigour and effect; and, while they confined themselves to the testimony of scripture, it is presumed, that every impartial reader will admit, that he quitted himself like a man. And those who prefer listening to the oracles of infallibility rather than to the abstruse, and often indecisive, reasonings of metaphysics, will regret that Mr. F. did not, in a more manly and direct manner, meet his antagonist on the ground of plain scripture evidence. But that gentleman had naturally a metaphysical way of thinking; and was very expert in pushing an adversary to consequences, and reducing him to absurdity. To this mode of treating religious subjects, Mr. T. had a settled dislike. “These reasonings,” he observed, “generally leave the mind in uncertainty. When we have the divine testimony for what we assert, we may hope to be of use to such as dare give the allwise God credit for the truth of what he declares in his word. But if we go beyond this, we generally lose ourselves in a labyrinth.”* This was not the evasion of one who found himself unqualified for disquisitions of this nature; for he has shewn, on several occasions during the course of the debate, that he could manage these weapons of contention with sufficient dexterity. It was the deliberate dictate of his judgment; founded on full conviction of the sufficiency of scripture, and a deep reverence for its adorable Author. He frequently repeated, with high approbation, the observation of the great Dr. Watts: “in every sacred truth that is revealed to us, a plain evidence that *God hath said it* should be a sufficient answer to a thousand objections.”†

Though our account of this interesting controversy has already extended beyond our intention, yet we cannot do justice to the character of Mr. D. T. without taking some notice of the manner in which Mr. F.’s biographer has treated him.‡

The writer certainly had an undoubted right to give the victory to his own hero; to doubt whether Mr. T. well understood the

* Friendly Conclusion, p. 7, 8.

† Thirteen Letters, p. 122.

‡ Morris’ Memoirs, p. 275—278, 280—296.

grounds of the controversy; and to assert, if such were his opinion, that he was, at any rate, but ill prepared to meet the close metaphysical reasoning of Mr. F. or to defend himself against the pugilistic efforts of such a gigantic adversary. But in giving an account of the contest between these very unequal combatants, he should not have misrepresented the manœuvres even of the dwarf. This we presume he has been guilty of in more than one instance. Brevity obliges us to select only a few examples.

Mr. M. after Agnostos, represents Mr. T. as "highly approving, in the early part of the debate, Mr. F.'s definition of natural and moral ability; and yet, when the effects of this definition began to operate on his own system, changing his mind and imposing another meaning on the terms." But, before such an insinuation as this had been published, it might have been prudent to have examined the fact. Mr. T. had, it is true, approved of Mr. F.'s distinction of natural and moral ability; but, the *first* time he had occasion to advert to the subject, observes "His definition of natural ability appears to be just and proper. How far this can be said of his definition of *moral ability* is not, to me, quite so evident. But I admit the definition, for the present, to avoid unnecessary altercation."* Surely this guarded manner of expression left Mr. T. at full liberty to explain himself on the subject, when he saw occasion, without any imputation of changing his mind through fear for his system.

"Mr. F. had conceded," says Mr. M. "the universality of the death of Christ. This is hardly accurate. Mr. F. had asserted, that the death of Christ had sufficient merit to atone for the sins of all the world, or a thousand worlds; but steadily insisted that it was *specially* designed for the salvation of those alone who were finally saved: and had spent no little time in proving, that this special design was not inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ's dying for all. Mr. T. who was intent on his great object, and unwilling to be diverted from it; and who knew that many great men had maintained, that though an atonement was made for all, yet some were specially elected to salvation, willingly granted the *consistency* of these two ideas; and observes, "It is so plain that Christ might absolutely design the salvation of some, and yet lay down his life for all, that I think

* Nine Letters, p. 64.

the *consistency* of these two positions was hardly ever denied by any man of consideration, whatever were his sentiments respecting either of them." Mr. M. introduces this quotation by observing that " notwithstanding all that Mr. T. has written about universal provision, he has at length but little to object;" and subjoins to the extract this remarkable assertion: " After this, there is no need for quotation; nor for any farther dispute on this head." Now would not the unwary reader be led to suppose that Mr. T. had made some important concession, or even yielded the victory to his antagonist. But the fact is quite different. That author had only asserted that the *two ideas were consistent* with each other, without either denying or allowing that they *were really connected*. He did not consider that question as having any influence on the point in debate, and therefore waived the discussion of it.

" This scheme," he observes, in the same passage from which Mr. M. has made his quotation, " whether true or false, I do not oppose; nor do I remember that I ever did oppose it; nor do I wish to oppose it; though I have no objection to give my thoughts on it, such as they are, when necessary. At present, the impropriety of doing it is obvious, as it would complicate the present question, and might confound the simple reader. Nor is it in the least necessary, having no connection with the point in debate. This scheme grants me all I wish: that ' Jesus died for the sins of all mankind;' which, I assuredly believe, is not only a gospel truth, but the very *glory* of the gospel."*

" But you know, Sir," he adds in a subsequent page, " a *special design* in the death of Christ is no part of the subject now in debate. The question before us is, ' whether Jesus died for the sins of all mankind?' The affirmative of this question is perfectly consistent with ' a *special design* in the death of Christ:' and I think it will not be doubted, that the greatest number of those who have maintained such a *special design*, and these, without any invidious comparison, men of the greatest learning, piety, and usefulness, have also maintained that ' Jesus died for all mankind.' With respect to myself, I think it sufficient to observe, that though I am willing to read what Mr. F. or any other man shall please to write on the subject of *election*; yet as ' a *special design* in the death of Christ' does not affect

* Thirteen Letters, p. 91.

the present question, but may divert from it, I therefore, at present, neither affirm nor deny such special design. But, if any such election be maintained as supposes, that all the rest of mankind never enjoyed the possibility of happiness, nor had any provision of happiness made for them; but were necessarily, either from eternity or from their birth, exposed to eternal misery, such election as this I deliberately consider as opposite to the spirit and design of the gospel, and to the tenor of scripture. As the object of Mr. F.'s argument on this head, that of 'a special design in the death of Christ,' is consistent with the grand point which I wish to defend, I agree with him, not to add more on the subject, lest it 'should lead us from our present design.* If the reader wish to see an explicit declaration of Mr. T.'s ideas on *election*, he may turn to the 'Extracts from his Letters on Hall's Helps, page 163 preceding.'

Mr. M. praises both parties for their mutual willingness to yield. Mr. T. he says, "had no wish to controvert the doctrine of election, of divine decrees, or of final perseverance." This may mislead us. Mr. T. had no wish to controvert those points on *that occasion*, because he considered them as foreign to the subject, and likely to lead them from it: but we have seen that he by no means intended to admit them as truths. This want of accuracy in the reporter checks our exultation, when we read that Mr. F. "was willing to concede the universality of the death of Christ, the general indirect influence of the Holy Spirit, and regeneration by the word." The last point he yielded, though very reluctantly; but, when he spoke out, it did not appear that any great alteration in his views respecting the two former had taken place.

"The discussion," Mr. M. asserts, "with all its imperfections, was productive of much advantage. It had its effect on some of Mr. T.'s connections in giving a more evangelical tone to their preaching." If this be true, it certainly was a great advantage; but we know not to whom he alludes. On Mr. F.'s connections, he continues, it had its effects, "in rendering the doctrine of the cross more generally interesting. The universality of the atonement was more fully acknowledged as the ground of general invitations", (the very point which Mr. T. had laboured to establish); "addresses to the unconverted were applied with greater pungency and force." Such is the statement of Mr. F.'s

* Thirteen Letters, pp. 99, 100.

biographer of the effects of this interesting discussion. If it be accurate; and none will suspect the writer of partiality towards Mr. T., it is undeniably evident, that, notwithstanding all the *pugilistic* efforts of his gigantic adversary, the dwarf carried off the victory, and obtained his object.

In giving a connected view of this controversy, we have been led out of the order of time: we now return to the year 1786, when it commenced.

In the course of this year, Mr. T. was engaged at four ordinations. In February, 1786, he gave a charge to his friend, Mr. A. Austin, when he was ordained over the church in Fetter Lane: and, in the beginning of April, he preached to the church at Bessell's Green, when Mr. J. Austin was called to the pastoral office over them. On April 26, he visited Leicester, to assist at the ordination of his former pupil, Mr. J. Deacon, over the church in that place. On this occasion, Mr. T. delivered an Introductory Discourse, proposed the questions to the people and minister, offered the ordination prayer, and delivered a long charge to the young pastor. Mr. Thompson, of Boston, addressed the people. The whole work of the day was published soon afterwards, in a pamphlet of 180 pages, 12mo. The Introductory Discourse is appropriate; and defends the order of dissenting churches in choosing their own officers, by an interesting sketch of Ecclesiastical History, shewing the decline of the primitive discipline into the tyranny of popery, and its revival in consequence of the Reformation. It affords evident proof of a mind well acquainted with the subject, that frequently reflected on the dealings of Providence with the church. The charge, which is founded on *Titus* ii. 7, 8, is evidently one of the most laboured of Mr. T.'s publications, and has been allowed by all who have read it to possess a very high degree of excellence. A modern writer, totally unconnected with Mr. T., observes on this piece: "It extends to upwards of eighty pages, every one of which is replete with the most important admonitions and persuasive exhortations to the proper discharge of the high office with which the young minister had been invested. If this memoir should fall under the inspection of any ministers by whom that admirable charge has not been perused, we beg leave, with all becoming deference, most earnestly to recommend

it to their attention; for, if they have taken up the sacred vocation on scripture grounds, and are animated by the laudable wish of discharging the various duties of the office with credit to themselves, the edification of others, and the glory of their great Master in heaven, we venture to affirm that it is impossible they can read it without profit.* To this testimony we fully subscribe; and think that this charge exhibits a convincing proof of the excellency, both as to matter and style, to which the author would have attained, had not his incessant and important avocations prevented him from bestowing that attention on his compositions, without which the best natural abilities cannot advantageously develope themselves.

October 18, in the same year Mr. T. was again called to deliver a charge to his highly esteemed friend Mr. Birley, who was then ordained to the pastoral office over the General Baptist Church at St. Ives, where he had laboured for several years. The charge, from *Rom. i. 9*, was afterwards printed, in connection with the address to the people by Mr. Robinson of Cambridge, and Mr. B's. confession of faith. Though not so elaborate as the charge to Mr. Deacon, yet this discourse is replete with excellent advices and powerful motives for the conscientious discharge of the duties of the pastoral office; and must have been very interesting and useful to the worthy minister to whom it was addressed, on account of the long and intimate friendship which had subsisted between himself and the preacher.

Notwithstanding all his more public engagements Mr. T. was earnest and diligent in his attention to the prosperity of his own flock. In addition to his regular and occasional labours in the pulpit, he was very anxious and assiduous to restore the discipline of the church, which, owing probably to the advanced years of the pastor, had considerably declined. Prayer-meetings also were established, and various other means adopted to promote the success of the cause. Nor did he labour in vain. The congregation improved weekly, and many were added to the church; and the affection and esteem of the members towards their pastor continued and augmented. Complete evidence of these facts presents itself, in the following extracts from a Letter to the association at Leicester, read and approved at a church meeting, May 15, 1786, and ordered to be entered on the

* New Evangelical Magazine, No. XXXI. p. 132

minutes. "We feel ourselves happy," they say, "in having it in our power to inform you, that since our much esteemed Mr. D. Taylor came among us, things have taken a pleasing change. Our church consists of two pastors, six deacons, and one hundred and eighty members; twenty-three of whom have been added in the course of the current year. Three now wait for admission; and one has been withdrawn from. We are happy in our dear pastors, and at peace among ourselves; but we sincerely pray that the glory of God may increase amongst us. We have also the pleasure to inform you, that our hearers are much increased: many of them, who used to attend the national church, seem highly to approve of the doctrine they hear preached among us."

1787. This year Mr. T. published "A Second Dissertation on Singing in the Worship of God, introduced by two Letters to the Rev. G. Boyce." The first of these was intended to correct some misrepresentations in the reply which Mr. G. Boyce had published to Mr. T.'s First Dissertation; and the second to refute some objections which he had advanced. The Dissertation comprised eight propositions, in which the propriety and scriptural grounds of vocal singing in public worship, and the impropriety of the use of musical instruments were attempted to be demonstrated. Mr. T. found this a disagreeable contest; as his antagonist was a venerable minister, to whom he had many obligations, and with whom he had long been intimately acquainted; but who was evidently very little qualified to conduct a literary controversy. It was difficult, therefore, to do justice to the subject and yet maintain that respect to his opponent which he wished to shew him. This squabble however does not appear to have produced any interruption in the friendship or correspondence of the parties; for, in the following year, we find Mr. Boyce earnestly urging Mr. T. to write against Mr. Winchester.

The state of religion at Church Lane continued to improve. This year Mr. T. commenced a Lecture on the Monday evening at Poplar, four miles from his own place, in a little meeting-house that had formerly belonged to the Methodists; which he kept up for many years. He also, at this time, instituted, with the approbation of his friends, a quarterly exhortation to the

members of the church, on the duties and the privileges of church fellowship; which he maintained as long as he lived. "The church was very happy and harmonious," and, during this year, twenty were baptized, and ten received from other churches.

The Association was at London this year, when Mr. T. as usual, presided; and was unanimously requested to write an Introduction to the Minutes and a Circular Letter for the next meeting. This year Mr. T. was also admitted into the "General Body of Dissenting Ministers in and near London:" of which he continued an active and useful member till his death.

We have not been able to recover any intimations of his journeys in 1787; though there can be little doubt that he made several.

1788. Our information respecting the labours and engagements of Mr. T. during this year, is very scanty. He presided at the association at Birmingham. From the association, he went to Nottingham, where, he assisted at the ordination of Mr. R. Smith, over the General Baptist church in that town, when he addressed the people, from *Phil. iv. 3.*

In 1788, he published the second Edition of his Thirteen Letters to Mr. Fuller. It appears, from his correspondence, that a great interest had been excited by the debate; and that this edition of the Letters had been eagerly called for: copies to the value of ten pounds having been bespoke before publication.

The cause at Church Lane continued to advance; though there appears to have been some discouraging circumstances, which exercised the faith and patience of the friends of Zion. In the course of the year, twenty were received by baptism, and four accepted from other churches; but there was a painful necessity of excluding six, and three were removed by death. August 1, he commenced an annual sermon to young people, which he continued to deliver on that day, till his death.

The Methodist Conference was held at London, in 1788; and Mr. T. seized that opportunity of hearing some of the preachers. Aug. 6, he informs Mr. B. "Mr. Wesley's conference ends to day. I have heard about twelve of his preachers, at five o'clock in the morning; which has gratified my curiosity,

though not given me much instruction. Their want of thought seems to me to spoil all their labours; though there are some valuable and considerable men among them. The variety of divine workmanship, in their different tastes and talents, has afforded me a peculiar gratification." He could not, however, enjoy this gratification, even at this early hour, without having his conduct misrepresented. It was reported, that he had attended the Methodist Conference, been reconciled to Mr. John Wesley, and admitted one of his preachers. These strange reports reached the ears of his friend, Mr. Thompson, of Boston, who wrote him a letter of inquiry and expostulation. In reply to this, under date of Aug. 18th, he observes. "I have just received your surprizing letter. Who Mr. W. is, I know nothing; but can assure you, and give you authority to assure others, that there is not a syllable of truth in his report. I never was at the Methodist Conference at all. I never spoke either to Mr. Wesley or any of his preachers on the subject, either in jest or earnest; nor ever had the least inclination or thought of joining Mr. Wesley or his people. Nay, though I heard several of their preachers, in the mornings, at five o'clock, yet I studiously avoided conversation or any kind of intimacy with them; lest foolish people should put a wrong construction on it. Mr. Brittain and I have not had one word of difference. There is, for any thing I know, the most perfect amity between us. So that there never was the least foundation for Mr. W.'s report, in any branch of it." To endeavour to trace the author or the reason of this strange calumny would be a waste of time; but it is too true, that, in following years, many reports equally unfounded, calculated, and probably designed, to injure his character, were circulated, with uncommon diligence, throughout the connection.

1789. In the commencement of this year, the British empire was involved in consternation by the mental affliction of the monarch; which for several months rendered him incapable of holding the reins of government. In the beginning of March, it pleased God to remove the malady, and he resumed the functions of royalty. This event excited general satisfaction; and March 15th was observed as a day of national thanksgiving. The subject of this Memoir and his people heartily joined with

their fellow-subjects in gratitude to divine Providence for this signal mercy; and he delivered a discourse, on that day, from *Isaiah v. 12*: in which he endeavoured to point out the importance of the event to the happiness of the country, the proper means of testifying gratitude for it, and the lessons of instruction which might be derived from a pious consideration of it. At the earnest request of his hearers, he published this discourse, under the title of “The Interposition of Providence in the late recovery of his Majesty King George the Third, illustrated and improved.” Though very plain and practical, yet this sermon discovers a greater knowledge of political affairs than, considering the preacher’s many avocations, could have been expected; and exhibits in a very favourable point of view, the author’s love to his country and loyalty to his sovereign; virtues for which he was always conspicuous.

Mr. T. presided at the annual association at Retford, May 27 and 28, and, in compliance with the request of the preceding meeting, delivered a long discourse on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; which was highly approved and unanimously requested to be printed. On this journey, he assisted at the ordination of Mr. J. Goddard, at Ilkiston, to whom he delivered the charge. On May 31, having to pass through Derby, he preached in the open air, from *Luke ii. 10*, nearly on the place where the meeting house has since been built. This was the first time that a General Baptist minister had been heard at Derby, and led to the introduction of the cause into that town. From Derby he proceeded into Yorkshire, and preached for his former friends, with great acceptance. He returned to London after an absence of three weeks.

About the middle of this year Mr. T. published “A compendious View of the Nature and Importance of Christian Baptism, for the use of plain Christians.” This was one of the most successful of his compositions, and has already run through seven editions. It was occasioned by the publication of some warm tracts on both sides of the subject; and its design is thus expressed in the commencement: “Common Christians cannot enter far into the intricate parts of a controversy. With these they are often confounded. Though they are frequently no more than the appendages of the subject in dispute, yet they perplex the weak reader, till he is ready to forget the

main question; which when carefully attended to, is generally easy and plain. This, I think, is, in some measure, the case with regard to the controversy on Christian Baptism. I have long thought so; and my mind was peculiarly struck with this apprehension by reading a late pamphlet on the subject. This gave birth to the small publication now put into the hands of the reader. The design of it is to state the nature and importance of baptism in an easy light; and to collect what appears essential to the controversy into a narrow compass." This design he has executed with his usual simplicity and precision; and this tract has, in many instances, been blest to the satisfaction of serious enquirers. It is too well known to need enlargement.

The little interest at Shore, which owed its existence to Mr. T.'s labours, was now in considerable pecuniary difficulties, and naturally turned their eyes to their founder for assistance. They sent a letter to the church over which he presided, requesting that he might be permitted to visit the midland churches, and collect for their case. This request was granted; and on Lord's day evening, Oct. 11, he set out from London, after preaching twice, if not thrice, to his own congregation, and preached at Leicester on Monday evening; at Loughborough, and attended a conference, on Tuesday; at Nottingham, on Wednesday, at Kirkby Woodhouse, on Thursday; at Wimeswould, on Friday; at Sawley, on Saturday; at Diseworth, Melbourn and Castle Donington, on the Lord's day; at Kegworth, on Monday; at Ticknall and Cauldwell, on Tuesday; at Packington and Barton, on Wednesday; at Hugglescote, and attended a conference, on Thursday; at Wolvey and Longford, on Friday; and returned to London on Saturday. Thus it appeared that this indefatigable minister preached twenty times, attended two conferences, and travelled at least three hundred miles, in fourteen days.

It has been already hinted, that Mr. Fuller was engaged in defending his peculiar opinions at the same time, against the high calvinists, on the one hand, and Mr. T. on the other. It was not long before Mr. T. himself was placed in similar circumstances. While he was engaged in defending his favourite tenet, that Christ died for the sins of all mankind, against Mr. F. he was led into dispute with a minister of very different opinions and character. Mr. E. Winchester, a Baptist minister of Phi-

Iadelphia, in America, had been active in his own country, in propagating the doctrine of the limited duration of future punishment, and the final salvation of all the fallen race. Some time before this period, he had come to England; and had disseminated these principles with great diligence and some degree of success. The novelty of the sentiments, and the zeal of Mr. W. in maintaining them, excited the attention of the religious public. Mr. T. was too anxious for the preservation of the truth not to pay particular regard to the progress of these new doctrines. But he did not condemn them without examination. He read attentively all that he could procure that had been written in their favour, both in ancient and modern times, at home and abroad. The result of this examination, he states in a letter to Mr. B. dated July 29, 1788. "With regard to all the authors I have read, my present thoughts are, that they have too much labour to make. It is a maxim with me, that no revealed truth can require a great deal of labour and criticism in order to prove it: and therefore this cannot be a revealed truth, because they are reduced to the necessity of so much critical labour and shuffling (so I call it) in order to maintain it, or to set it in a plausible light. As to single passages, it is my humble opinion, that any one of those texts, *Matt.* xxv. 46; xii. 32; xxvi. 24, will afford reasonable and even irresistible evidence against them, on this head. I am the more inclined to disbelieve their sentiment, because they all seem to me to have lost all proper ideas of the subject of evangelical religion and of acceptance with God."

Mr. W.'s scheme being well adapted to the dispositions of our depraved nature, and propagated with considerable zeal and assiduity, gained proselytes among professors of various denominations. Many viewed its progress with sorrow, and wished that some attempt could be made to check its course. As it was known, that Mr. T. had thought and read on the subject, the eyes of many, both in town and country, were turned to him; and he was earnestly solicited to take up the question. Numbers of his brethren in the ministry in London, joined in this request; and amongst others Mr. A. Booth and Mr. H. Foster were peculiarly urgent. At length, probably perceiving that the heresy approached his own congregation, he consented to encounter it. He tells his correspondent, Dec. 30, 1788. "It

is amazing to me that the sentiment prevails in the manner it does. I think it an alarming omen with respect to the state of religion and the following age. Several churches in London are hurt by it; and Mr. Foster informed me, a few days ago, that many of the young enlightened clergy have taken in the sentiment. All seem to think that something ought to be written in opposition to it; yet no one seems willing to undertake it. I have at last yielded to do something. Last Lord's day, I preached two sermons, such as they were, on the Eternity of Future Punishment: the substance of which, with a few notes, will be published, God willing, in a few weeks." Accordingly, early in 1789, our author sent forth a pamphlet, which he called "The Eternity of Future Punishment, asserted and improved: a discourse on *Matt. xxv. 46.*" He here brought forward a plain and perspicuous statement of the evidence in favour of his opinion from the express declarations of scripture and other topics of argument: and fairly met and answered the principal objections usually urged against it. As the advocates for the limited duration of future punishments are obliged to impugn the accuracy of most of the received translations of the scriptures which are obviously hostile to their sentiments, it became necessary, in contending with them, to recur to the import of the original text. It required great address to bring disquisitions of this nature within the reach of a mixed congregation. Mr. T. felt the difficulty; and has met it with considerable success.

This Tract was well received by the religious public, especially in London. The author informs his friend, April 4, 1789. "As to the London ministers, many of them, of various denominations, have expressed their approbation of my small thing, in terms too strong for me to repeat. I desire to bless God that my poor labours give satisfaction, or prove useful to any of his ministers or people. When Mr. Foster had read one, he came himself and bought half a guinea's worth to give away; and I find that he has written into Yorkshire and strongly recommended it." Mr. Winchester, on the contrary, affected to treat this performance with great carelessness, as almost beneath his notice. He did, however, in a short time, condescend "to spend little more than one afternoon" in animadverting on it; and published these *well matured* "Remarks," as a reply to our author's Discourse. When this publication was put into the hands of

Mr. T. he thought it required no answer. July 26, he informs Mr. B. "I have not concluded to reply to Mr. W. I think I cannot write to any purpose without exposing the man; and that I do not wish. His Remarks are so foreign to the subject, so destitute of argument, so full of misrepresentations, &c. &c. that I cannot treat them as I could wish. I think those who suppose that his Remarks either require or deserve a reply, are incapable of being much benefitted by any reply that I can make." In this opinion, he persevered; notwithstanding many of his friends urged him to resume the subject lest his silence should be considered as a proof of his defeat, till he had received a letter from his late antagonist, Mr. G. Boyce, of Coningsby, soliciting him, in the strongest terms, to reply to Mr. W. This application from so venerable a friend was not to be refused; and about Michaelmas he published "The Eternity of Future Punishment Re-asserted; the Importance of the Doctrine stated and the truth of it vindicated: in a Reply to the Exceptions of the Rev. Mr. W. against it, in Six Letters to the Rev. G. B. of C—." In these Letters, he treats Mr. W. with freedom, exposes the unfairness of his conduct as a disputant, the weakness of his arguments, and the inconclusiveness of his reasonings: and notices the overflowings of his self-importance in a manner which must have been felt by his opponent. Indeed, as Mr. W. had most unaccountably forgot to attempt a refutation of any of Mr. T.'s arguments, the latter could do little more by way of reply than re-state them and animadvert on the strange conduct of his antagonist.

This Reply was evidently deeply felt by Mr. W. who in Aug. 1790, published a rejoinder, under the pompous title of "The Restitution of all Things which God hath spoken, by the Mouth of all his Holy Prophets, since the World began, defended." &c. This appears to have been a curious production. Mr. T. soon laid the plan and collected the materials for a full answer to it; But his friends, whom he consulted on the propriety of publishing it, differed greatly in opinion. Some esteemed Mr. W.'s publication too contemptible to deserve an answer, and that our author would degrade himself by noticing it: while others thought, that justice to his own character and the cause in which he had engaged required a reply. Of this opinion was his friend, Mr. B. who wrote thus: "I think the dispute cannot honourably

stop in its present stage, and therefore advise that an answer be published; both for the sake of your own character and of the truth. For I still think that you have the truth on your side and are well qualified to make it appear, if the Lord continue your health and capacity, which I hope and pray that he will." For some reason, however, which cannot now be ascertained, this Reply was never printed: and the friends of Mr. W. triumphed not a little that so able a disputant had been reduced to silence. The fact is, the answer was prepared, and a considerable portion of it transcribed for the press. It now lies before us: and it is obvious that, whatever restrained the writer from meeting his opponent again before the public, a consciousness of being vanquished, on any apprehension of difficulty in defending his positions, had no influence on his determination.

1790. At the association at Retford, in 1789, Mr. T. at the request of a former association, delivered a discourse on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, which, as we have seen, he was unanimously entreated to publish. Esteeming the subject to be of peculiar importance, especially considering the bold and assiduous attempts then making to overthrow the divine authority of the sacred volume, he thought the reverence which it demanded, and the respect which was due to his brethren and the public, required him to take every means to render his work as complete as he could. He informs Mr. B. under date, Nov. 17, 1789: "On account of my sluggish temper and numerous avocations, I have only a few chinks of leisure time; and those few chinks I have thought proper to fill up, for some weeks past, in taking a survey of the Deistical controversy, in former and later times. To make way for this, I have laid aside my discourse on Inspiration, &c. almost ever since Midsummer. I thought this my duty, both out of respect to my friends who have flattered and honoured me with a request to publish that discourse, and in order that I might do more justice to the subject and not give occasion to the adversary. I am nearly come to a conclusion to print it after Christmas, if life and health be spared. May the Lord direct and assist in it, and attend it with his blessing. My great difficulty is to comprise all that ought to be said within so narrow a compass, and to arrange it in the happiest and easiest manner. It is easy enough to write some-

thing. But to write *well*, on such a theme, within such limits, appears to me to require more judgment and taste than I can pretend to be possessed of. However, I can only do my best, and that I am willing to do." Indeed it appears to have cost him no little thought and some self-denial to form this resolution. Writing to the same friend a few weeks previously, he observes: "I do not know that I shall print an Essay on Inspiration. I have done little yet in preparing it for the press. It seems an absurd thing for me to talk of printing on such a subject. So ignorant! and so little time!"

The persuasions of his friends prevailed, and the discourse was published in August, 1790, under the title of "An Essay on the Truth and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." It extends to nearly 200 pages octavo. The author has, in this volume, placed most of the principal arguments for the truth of Christianity, both external and internal, in a plain and conclusive light, level with the capacities of common readers. "Perhaps few treatises on the subject have compressed so much useful matter into so small a compass. It is remarkable for its perspicuity and condensation. If the more recent publications of Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Dick should be thought to have superseded our author's Essay, it may be said that the latter comprehends the *substance* of all that has since been delivered in the volumes of those distinguished authors: and that the proportion of persons who have it in their power to avail themselves of their writings is very small indeed, when placed in competition with such as can only afford to purchase Mr. T.'s Essay. It certainly exhibits the fruits of extensive reading, and no inconsiderable portion of learning, skilfully concocted and rendered permeable to common capacities."* This is the character given to the Essay by a disinterested critic; and it coincides with the opinion expressed by many good judges at the time of publication. Dr. Stennett, in a letter to the author, December 13, 1790, calls it "an able, sensible and seasonable defence of Christianity; and hopes much good will be done by it." We cordially unite with the worthy Doctor in his praises and his hopes. If the Essay had been written in the form of a dissertation, unencumbered with a text, introduction, improvement and the other formalities of a sermon, the arguments might perhaps have been

* New Evangelical Magazine as before.

better connected, and several disquisitions, which tend rather to interrupt the course of reasoning and weaken its effect, avoided. It is nevertheless an excellent piece; and we think no sensible man can give it a careful and impartial perusal without being convinced of the divine origin of Christianity. It is peculiarly adapted for the benefit of common readers; and for their sakes it ought not to be suffered to fall into oblivion. It has, however, been long out of print; and several years before the decease of the author, he had projected a new edition, and desired several of his friends to look it over and suggest improvements.

The latter part of this year, 1790, was a season of severe domestic affliction to the subject of this Memoir. In July, his eldest daughter exhibited symptoms of consumption, and it was thought advisable to procure her the benefit of the sea air. Towards Michaelmas, a fever attacked his family, and for several months involved them in deep distress. September 14, he tells his correspondent, "My eldest daughter is now apparently at the point of death of a violent scarlet fever. What will be the consequence of such a disorder taking my numerous family, God only knows. I leave all with him: and rejoice in him as my God and salvation; knowing his wisdom and his goodness." He concluded this letter abruptly: "Bad news of my daughter calls me away directly." On the 6th of October, he informs the same friend, "The last lines were scrawled in great confusion; the physician called upon me at that instant, to inform me how near death my eldest daughter was. He had always been of opinion that she could scarcely recover; and then confirmed it: seeming to think that a few hours would terminate her life. I finished and sealed the letter, wrapt up the parcel in the greatest hurry, and ran off to see and pray with my child for the last time. But as I went to Shacklewell, where I had taken lodgings for my sick family, I was uncommonly filled with faith, hope and love; and when I got there, prayed with such confidence and liberty as I have seldom enjoyed. After a continual struggle for life, during eight hours that night, to the astonishment of the doctor and every body else, she began to recover. She was in body and mind reduced to the state of an infant; she is very weak, but recovering. My daughter G— was seized with the same dreadful disorder the Monday follow-

ing, and has been very badly; but we hope the fever turned yesterday. But my dear wife took her bed yesterday of the same disease, and is very ill this morning. You may, in a degree, judge of my condition: a wife and two children laid up with a heavy affliction which forbids my dearest friends to see me. Worn down with labour, almost lost with watching, overwhelmed with cares, and full of gloomy prospects, I am scarcely fit to write or do any thing else. But my God is wise and good. With this I am satisfied and moderately happy. On Mr. W—, &c. &c. you shall hear from me, God willing, when I am able to think; if it please God that I survive the present visitation. He only knows how that will be."

This afflicting dispensation of providence continued for several months; and throughout the trying season, Mr. T. evinced the most affectionate regard for his family, and made every exertion for their accommodation. Though he had to discharge all his pastoral duties, which appear to have been only once omitted during the whole of this dark period; he was constant in his attendance on the afflicted, cheerfully submitted to the most menial offices to serve them, and was frequently, for a week together, watching over them without any opportunity of putting off his clothes. It pleased his heavenly Father to succeed his attention, aided by the assiduity and skill of Dr. Whitehead, who, on this occasion, acted the part of a friend as well as physician. This gentleman's kindness made a deep impression on Mr. T.'s heart; and three years afterwards, he seized an opportunity of publickly expressing his gratitude: "My wife," he says, "and all my family were recovered by the blessing of God, which wonderfully attended the indefatigable endeavours of an eminent physician, Dr. John Whitehead, to whom I am indebted beyond what I can express for his kind and incessant attention to my family on that, and on all other occasions, whenever his attention has been requisite."* The subject of this Memoir was deeply affected with the goodness of God in preserving his family. December 9, he writes in this strain: "The situation I have been in for more than three months has allowed me very little time, spirit or capacity for correspondence. Through infinite mercy, I am alive, and now in moderate spirits: and my dear wife and children are doing bravely, and growing strong.

* Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Taylor, page 64.

On the 1st of September, my eldest daughter was seized with a raging fever; my daughter G. on the 20th of the same month; my wife on the 2d of October, and my daughter N. on the 13th. All my other children were taken from me by my kind friends. The physician had but little hopes, for a long time, of the recovery of my wife and eldest daughter; but the Lord has done great things for us indeed. Glory be to his great name! I have lately had an attack of the rheumatism, and my eyes are very badly, so that I have done very little. But I am better of the rheumatism through mercy; and my eyes are, I hope, not growing worse." No one who has the feelings of a husband and father can read these affecting details without heartfelt sympathy for the affectionate and pious sufferer.

We have no account of Mr. T. taking any journey this year, except to the association at Castle Donington, and from thence to the Lincolnshire churches. Probably his domestic afflictions prevented him. Religion did not advance at Church Lane so rapidly as in former years, only ten being baptized; but the church continued in a good degree harmonious and affectionate.

1791. When Mr. T. removed to London, it was allowed on all hands that the proposed salary was insufficient for the comfortable support of his numerous family. It was expected that the increase of the cause would soon enable the church to afford a more adequate remuneration; but though the members had increased from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and thirty; yet, either from want of consideration or ability, no addition had been made to his income. Several individuals had, indeed, endeavoured to lessen his burden, by taking one and another of his children into their families. This, though kindly intended, was but a partial and temporary relief; and probably operated to his disadvantage, by leading to an idea that his expences were less than they really were. The heavy afflictions with which his family had been exercised in the preceding year, had involved him in considerable embarrassments, and made it necessary to take some measures to extricate himself from them. As there did not appear any prospect of effectual relief from his people, he determined, after much deliberation, prayer and consultation with the leading members of his church, to enter into business as a bookseller. He accordingly removed his residence, at

Lady-day, 1791, to Union Street, Bishopsgate Street; and opened a shop. With what temper and views he commenced this undertaking, the following extract from his private memoranda will abundantly shew.

“Holy and heavenly Father! hitherto thou hast helped me; and I would humbly and heartily bless thee for all the dispensations of thy kind Providence in my favour. In the support of a numerous family and many labours (though, alas! poor and defective), I have passed through the world! thus far to more than fifty-two years of age, with much pleasure and happiness. Blessed be thy Name for all thy love to me and mine.”

“I am now, with the advice of my friends, and after frequent prayer to Thee, my glorious Leader and Guide, beginning in business for the comfortable and honourable support of my wife and children; of whom thou hast spared nine, who live and grow, to give me much pleasure; and who, I trust, will by thy grace live to thy glory. My God and Father; Thou knowest the sincerity with which I have prayed to thee on this account; and the integrity with which I am undertaking this burden, together with the service of a numerous and affectionate people. I trust in thee, my God, for that wisdom which is profitable to direct in this and all my other concerns. O give me the spirit of simplicity, wisdom, integrity and watchfulness; and all shall be well. Let not my heart cleave to the earth, nor dishonour thy great name. May I, by thy grace, preserve the spirit of a christian and a minister, in all the business before me! O that I may still preserve a tender regard for thine honour, and a cordial affection for the souls of men! that my dear people may sustain no injury by my secular incumbrances. But may the church still grow in number, knowledge, and purity, to be an habitation of God through the Spirit.”

“What success may be best for me and mine is only known to thee; and with thee, my allwise, holy and merciful God and Father, I humbly, and with satisfaction, leave it. If thou art pleased to succeed my poor endeavours and those of my family, I desire to consecrate all I have and am to thy service, in the most useful manner that I can; and do here, this morning, resolve and promise, that through thy grace, thy cause and thy poor children shall not be forgotten by me. At present, thou knowest, I have not much to spare, besides what is necessary for the supply of

my own necessities and those of my dependants. But I begin this morning, by putting one shilling into a separate account for pious and charitable uses; and intend to do the same every week, for the first year. If it please thee, O Lord, to succeed my endeavours, I do intend, as thou, O heart-searching God knowest, to encrease the sum to the best of my judgment, in proportion to the increase with which thou shalt favour me."

" And now, my gracious God and Father, I leave myself, my family, and all my secular, spiritual and ministerial concerns in thy blessed hands; humbly imploring that I may be kept faithful as a servant of thee, and thy people, and may at last finish my days to the honour and glory of thy adorable name. Amen. No. 35, Union Street, March 28, 1791."

Mr. T. attended the Annual Association at Wisbeach, April 28, 1791. At this meeting it was resolved, that a new hymn-book should be published for the use of the Connection; and Mr. J. Deacon was requested to make a collection of such hymns as he might think proper for the purpose. A committee, of which our author was at the head, was appointed to meet at Leicester to 'examine and decide' upon their merit. Accordingly, Mr. T. went to Leicester in the beginning of August; and, at the request of his brethren, undertook the care of the printing and publishing of this new collection. This occupied much of his leisure time for several succeeding months; and appears to have been his only literary engagement during the present year. The General Assembly, at which he usually attended as a visitant, urged him to write a "History of the General Baptists;" but he declined it, on account of his numerous engagements.

In the early part of this year, he felt the consequences of the fatigues of the preceding one. His eyes were so affected as to render it painful either to read or write; yet he pursued his ministerial labours with assiduity and success. During the course of the year, fourteen were baptized and ten received from other churches; and the members of the church report to the Association, that they are "unanimous and plentifully fed with the bread of life."

1792. Whatever appeared to the subject of this Memoir to be his duty, he pursued with ardour. He had entered into

business from a conviction that, in his circumstances, duty called him to it: and he prosecuted it with his usual spirit. He published a catalogue of his books on sale, and dispersed it throughout the connection; and was conscientious and diligent in his dealings. And though his numerous avocations both literary and religious, necessarily interrupted his attention and diverted his thoughts, yet his industry and integrity were crowned with such a degree of success as to enable him to encrease his fund for charitable purposes. March 30, 1792, when he had been a year in business, he records in his Diary: "I find, on reviewing my last year's account, if I have made no mistake, as I think I have not, that what I have given to the necessities of the poor amounts to £3. 14s. 10d. and so far as I can judge, my circumstances are rather improved than otherwise. I do therefore propose, God being my helper, if spared, to devote one shilling and sixpence a week to pious and charitable uses, as the Lord may direct; and earnestly pray that it may be to his glory, through Jesus Christ." Mrs. T. continued, through this year, to be greatly afflicted; and had now nearly lost her eye-sight. Feb. 8, he tells Mr. Thompson, "Blessed be God, we are all in tolerable health, except my poor wife, who has been in a feeble state for some time. The will of the Lord be done."

It must have afforded this good minister great satisfaction that neither his business nor his afflictions hindered the progress of the cause of his Saviour at Church Lane. Indeed, ten years after this date, he boldly addressed the deacons in these memorable words. "I thank God, I can say without hesitation, that, amidst all my labours, I never omitted one meeting, public or private, on account of business or secular incumbrances." He had his reward. During the year previous to the association in 1792, twenty-five persons were received into fellowship by baptism; and the report of the state of the church concluded thus: "Blessed be God! we are united and harmonious in our consultations; and have the truth delivered to us as it is in Jesus."

The Annual Association was at Halifax this year: and afforded Mr. T. an agreeable opportunity of visiting his native country and his first christian associates. At this meeting he was requested to compose a catechism on the reasons of dissent from national churches. Instead of which, he annexed a short, per-

tinent section on that subject to the next edition of his Catechism for Youth. This has been retained in all subsequent impressions.

1793. Though Mr. T. had long withdrawn from any close connection with the Lincolnshire churches, yet he maintained a friendly intercourse with most of their ministers; and when occasion offered, attended their Associations. He was always received with affection; and his advice and assistance were highly respected. In an excursion to Lincolnshire, about 1790, he had an interview with several of the ministers, and the Decay of Religion in the baptized churches became the subject of discussion. Mr. T. promised to write his thoughts on this important topic; but, owing probably to his various engagements, postponed the fulfilment of this promise. In order to induce him to perform it, the Lincolnshire Association held at Coningsby, May 7, 1793, resolved "That Brother Boyce be requested to write to brother Taylor, to put him in mind of his engaging, when last amongst us, to write his thoughts on the Decay of Christianity in the baptized churches." This resolution Mr. Boyce forwarded to Mr. T. with an earnest entreaty that he would comply. Though fully aware of the difficulty and delicacy of the task, yet, convinced also of its great importance, he addressed several long letters to the venerable minister who had transmitted the request of the Association. In these letters, he first enquires, "what is meant by vital religion—what is necessary in order to its existence—what is the grand principle of it in the human soul—and what are the means of promoting it to be used by individuals;" and then proceeds "to assign the causes of its declining among any class of men, and to point out the proper methods in order to its revival." He very plainly and confidently ascribes the decline of religion, complained of by his correspondent, to the neglect of preaching Christ crucified as the only Saviour of sinners, and the great doctrines contained in this proposition or connected with it; and urges home on the consciences of the ministers for whose use he writes, the necessity of recurring to a plain, zealous and practical regard to these fundamental truths in all their public labours. We do not know that these Letters were ever sent to Mr. Boyce; but from the rough draught of them now before us, the writer evidently intended them for publication. Possibly the domestic afflictions with

which he was exercised, at this period, prevented him from prosecuting the design. We sincerely lament that this design was not executed, as the tract is adapted for peculiar usefulness. Though we may probably present the reader with a few extracts from this correspondence in another place, yet we venture to copy one short passage here, as illustrative of the zeal and energy of the writer's mind, though involved, as we have seen, in circumstances of affliction and discouragement.

"I am deeply sensible how dangerous it will be to consult my own feelings on such a subject as this. I am conscious that I cannot speak truth here, without reprobating and condemning myself, as in many things defective; and therefore I cannot discuss the subject honestly without exposing my own mind to guilty and painful sensations. But if these sensations produce deep humility at the footstool of divine mercy, and true genuine repentance, God will be glorified, and I trust that I and others shall receive the advantage. I must therefore speak faithfully for God, though in this respect, I speak against myself."

"I am deeply sensible also that on a subject of this kind, no man can be faithful and speak the truth of God, without incurring the resentment of many. The devil, who is the god and prince of this world, and who is particularly pleased with sleepy carnal professors, especially with sleepy and carnal ministers, who are his best friends and servants, must be vexed at the feeblest attempts to oppose his interest, and to advance the interest of Jesus Christ, which is directly opposite. This wicked spirit 'works in the children of disobedience,' and under his influence they must unite with him in resenting every attempt to demolish his kingdom."

"The observation now made applies to all the opposition which good men meet with in every age, in attending to the will of God. But it applies with peculiar force to every attempt to promote a general reformation in the churches; because this is giving Satan a broadside without ceremony! And should such an attempt succeed, he knows very well that the injury done to his cause will be extensive in proportion to that success. I am far from pretending that any effort of which I am capable will ever be eminently worthy of the attention of infernal spirits, or of their colleagues on earth; but, in proportion to the degree in which it is only intended to injure the interest of Satan, it must

provoke his rage and the rage of wicked men. And there are some peculiar reasons why an attempt of this kind should be resented by carnal professors of christianity, especially by carnal ministers. It not only, in general, opposes error and sin, which they delight in; but it disturbs their false peace, and tends to ruin their reputation as religious people, and so to prevent that peculiar mischief which they are able to do under the mask of pretended piety, which is undoubtedly as dear to the devil almost as his own existence."

"Be it so, your brother whom you have honoured with this request is come to a resolution, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, to speak freely on a subject the most important of all others: and the brief discussion of which he considers the most weighty and solemn business in which he ever has been employed, or ever expects to be, on this side of heaven."

While Mr. T. was thus engaged in devising means for the benefit of his fellow creatures and the glory of God, he was called to endure heavy affliction. Mrs. T. soon after her recovery from the fever, in 1790, suddenly lost the sight of one eye, while taking a walk in the garden. By medical assistance, it was very partially recovered; but the other eye immediately began to grow dim; and for three years, she was nearly blind. Her constitution also gradually declined, and she was reduced to a state of great debility. Towards the close of 1792, she had a slight paralytic stroke, which left her helpless as a child. In this condition, she remained till October 22, 1793. She passed that day in her usual state; but in the evening she had another stroke of the palsy, which rendered her totally insensible; and, after six hours' languor, terminated her life. Thus he lost a partner who had, for nearly thirty years, been a most valuable 'help-meet for him, and an affectionate and prudent mother to his numerous children.'

The afflicted widower applied to his friend, Mr. B. to preach the funeral sermon for his departed consort; but that gentleman, through an excess of timidity, positively, though very affectionately, declined the service. After making several vain efforts to alter his resolution, till there remained no time to procure another minister, Mr. T. was reduced to the painful necessity of attempting himself to improve the solemn event. This he did from *Psalm xlviij. 14*: a text which had been peculiarly encourag-

ing to his deceased partner amidst the decays of nature and the approaches of death. In the beginning of the following year, he published this Sermon, together with some Account of her Life and Character: "as a testimony of grateful respect to the memory of the deceased, and earnestly recommended to her nine surviving children, and her numerous friends in town and country." After detailing the principal events of her life, and sketching her character with affection and discrimination, he adds: "On the most deliberate and impartial recollection of which I think myself capable, I am not conscious of one day having passed since we were united together, in which it has not been my wish and design to make my departed wife as happy as possible. But in the *execution* of this design I acknowledge there have been many imperfections. On a survey of twenty-nine years, I am deeply convinced, and desire to live and die under the humbling conviction, that, though I deliberately class her among the best of wives, yet she would certainly have been a better wife, if she had had a better husband."

We know little of the progress of religion at Church Lane this year. Harmony prevailed, and the Lord's day services were well attended; but the members complained of lukewarmness, and the additions by baptisms were only nine, and five received from other churches. Yet they thankfully confess that they were fed with the truths of the Gospel of Christ Jesus their Lord."

1794. In the beginning of this year, February 7, death deprived Mr. T. of his highly esteemed friend, Mr. William Thompson, of Boston. Many years before his decease, it had been mutually agreed, that when one was taken to his rest, the survivor should preach and publish a sermon, on the occasion, from 2 Cor. xiii. 11, addressed to the bereaved church, and accompanied with a few Memoirs of the deceased. When the painful event apparently drew near, Mr. Thompson, who was well acquainted with the distresses of his friend's family and his many engagements, feeling that a journey to Boston would, at that juncture, be very inconvenient to him, kindly released him from that part of the engagement; but expressed a strong desire that he would fulfil the other stipulations. In compliance with this wish of his departed brother, Mr. T. delivered three

sermons to his own people, March 9, from the proposed text. Mr. Thompson's papers were soon afterwards sent to London, and preparations were made for drawing up the promised Memoir. But such were the domestic and ministerial avocations of the author, that the work was not printed till 1796. It then made its appearance under the title of "Memoirs of the Life, Character, Experience and Ministry of the late Rev. William Thompson, of Boston, Lincolnshire; to which is prefixed a Discourse, occasioned by his Death." The Discourse, which must have been much compressed in preparing for the press, is called "The good Pastor's last Advice to his People: a Discourse on 2 Cor. xiii. 11, addressed to the General Baptist Church at Boston." "The Memoirs" consist chiefly of Extracts from the Diary of the deceased, arranged under proper heads, and accompanied with pertinent reflections. This publication must have been interesting and edifying to the connections of the worthy minister of whom it treats; and is well adapted for the edification of all serious readers, but more especially of ministers.

It pleased God, at this period, to exercise the faith and patience of the subject of the present Memoir, with a train of family afflictions. In the course of the winter, several of his children were seriously indisposed; on March 18, one of the twins, who were born just before he left Yorkshire, was snatched away by death, after a very short illness. The afflicted parent felt the stroke, but bowed submissively to the divine will; and the following Lord's day morning improved the trying dispensation, from the appropriate passage, *Psa. xxxix. 9.* "I was dumb, and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it." But the weight of his trials and the state of his mind under them will be best exhibited in his own words, as entered in his Diary, the day after his daughter's death.

"It has pleased a holy and wise God, for reasons known to himself, to exercise me this year with trials that have appeared, to my weak mind, very severe. Lord, let me not attempt to exaggerate them, nor be impatient under them. I have indeed felt them very sensibly; but surely, thou heart-searching Jehovah, thou knowest that I have not willingly allowed myself to murmur. I have prayed and endeavoured that I might reverence and justify thee in all. O that I may ever do it from my heart!"

Two of my daughters have enjoyed a poor state of health all the winter; and I have been alarmed for one of them. My dear wife is taken from me, after a long and grievous affliction, about five months ago; and one of my daughters (Maria) a most amiable, sensible child, now lies dead. The expences of medicine and suitable nourishment for my family, and the expences of my poor wife's funeral have been heavy indeed."

"I have been much fatigued in body and mind; and sometimes much depressed in spirit by incessant labours and incessant thought and anxiety. Trade is very low, almost worth nothing; taxes high, and every thing dear. I have sometimes been afraid that my mental powers would be injured by anxiety and excessive thoughtfulness, and sometimes been afraid that they really were injured. But, blessed be God, I yet live; and now, though attended with troubles, yet, by a little relaxation, I think my nerves are a little braced and my spirits invigorated. I hope the Lord will again shine upon me that I may yet praise him. Yea, my gracious Father, by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit, though thou slay me yet will I trust in thee. Only keep my heart near to thyself, and save my dear children. Glorify thy name in our holiness and happiness, and all shall be well for ever. I think I have all reasonable evidence, that the God of love and mercy has taken my wife and five of my children to himself. This is a great honour for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful. O that I and the rest of my dear family may be brought to the same glory in due time. Then we shall sing victory for ever, and bask in the beams of love to all eternity. Lord, grant it for the precious Redeemer's sake. Amen.

Dan Taylor, March 19, 1794.

At Midsummer this year, the Annual Association was held at Church Lane; when Mr. D. T. read the circular letter which, at the request of the preceding meeting, he had prepared, on the "Operations of the Holy Spirit." It professed "to evince the reality of these operations and to assist in the practical improvement of what is said upon them." It was well approved by the Assembly and ordered to be printed with the Minutes. As this Association was held at his own meeting-house, he was not called upon to take any share in the public services: his country brethren preaching for him two Lord's days, and several times on the other days of the

week. On the evening of the latter Lord's day, Mr. T. endeavoured to assist the recollection and promote the edification of his people, by a discourse from *Matt. xiii. 51*, "Have ye understood all these things?" From this passage, he took occasion to give a concise but clear recapitulation of the various topics which had been discussed in the several sermons, and to point out the proper improvement to be made of them. This discourse made a considerable impression on all who heard it. Indeed the church bore an honourable testimony, at this meeting, to the useful tendency of his ministrations. "The gospel," they say, "is preached to us in its purity; and we pleasingly observe, with increasing zeal, stimulating the hearers to internal and external holiness." Yet the cause at Church Lane seems to have declined this year: for though eleven were baptized, yet an equal number were excluded, and nine removed by death.

Left as Mr. T. was, at the decease of his partner, with nine motherless children, eight of them daughters, who required the care of a female superintendant; being fully occupied with the concerns of his business, his ministry and the churches; and thus having little leisure to direct his dependants, or to inspect their conduct, it almost became necessary for him to obtain a mistress for his family, and a mother for his children. The propriety and necessity of such a measure were generally allowed by his friends, but they could not easily agree who was the most proper person to undertake the charge. He however cut short the discussion; and, on August 12, married *Elizabeth Newton*, a member of his own church. Whatever difference of opinion might have been entertained at the time when the connection was formed, she proved a valuable wife and an affectionate mother to his children. After her death in 1809, he declared to the public, "I may venture without hesitation to say that few in the marriage relation can have lived more happily than we have during the time of our connection. I am bound in duty gratefully to acknowledge that no man can reasonably desire a more agreeable companion, or one in whom were stronger evidences of the most sincere affection. She was uniformly attentive to family duties; gave invariable evidences of strict integrity and prudent economy. All her powers, I firmly believe, were exerted for my comfort and that of my family. I find no difficulty in declaring my full persuasion, that my con-

nection with my late dear wife has been an unspeakable blessing to myself, to my numerous family, to the church of Christ and to many others: for which therefore I desire, with all my heart, to say, ‘ Let the Lord be magnified who has pleasure in the prosperity of his servant.’”* Whatever abatements may be made for the partiality of an affectionate husband, softened by the recent separation, those who best knew the circumstances will readily allow, that this eulogy was, in a very honourable degree, well merited.

On Sept. 18, 1794, Mr. Brittain, the venerable co-pastor with the subject of this Memoir, departed this life; on the 28th Mr. T. delivered a discourse on the occasion, to a numerous congregation, from *Psalm lxxiii. 25, 26.* This was a delicate service. Mr. Brittain, though a good man, and an useful preacher, had sometimes more zeal than prudence. Being naturally under the influence of strong passions, and having enjoyed few of the advantages of education, his conduct in some instances displayed a degree of eccentricity which gave occasion of reproach to those who sought occasion. He was, notwithstanding, justly esteemed very highly by many members of the church; particularly by those of the longest standing, who, having been brought to the knowledge of the truth by his instrumentality, looked up to him as their spiritual father. Mr. T. therefore feared lest, by overlooking the failings of the deceased, he should betray the truth; or, by noticing them, he should give offence to his friends. In this difficulty, he consulted several of his brethren in the ministry in London, especially his neighbour Mr. Booth, who gave it as his decided opinion, that the credit of religion required that some notice should be taken of these particulars. Mr. T. therefore, who was not easily deterred from doing what appeared to him to be his duty, glanced, in the funeral sermon, though in a gentle and indirect manner, at the imperfections of his departed colleague. But all his caution was ineffectual. The allusion gave great offence to several of the hearers; and it is probable, laid the foundation for much of that dissatisfaction which embittered his latter days.

1795. In the commencement of this year, Mr. T. was laid aside by indisposition, which had probably been hastened, if not

* G. B. Repository, Vol. III, p. 177.

produced, by the anxieties and labours which he had sustained. This was the opinion of Dr. Whitehead; and that gentleman, unknown to his patient, kindly explained to the officers of the church the necessity of adopting some means to lighten the burden of business and cares, under which he began evidently to bend. We do not know that this representation produced any immediate effect. In his Diary, under date, March 23, we find the following interesting entry. “ On the evening of Feb. 22, 1795, the cold that has been in my bones ever since the first thaw of the present dreadful frost, broke out into a burning fever with ulcerated sore throat, which has laid me aside from my ministerial work for three Lord’s days; the first time that I remember to have been wholly laid aside on a Lord’s day during the whole course of my ministry, which is more than thirty years. For this I bless a gracious God; and pray and resolve that, instead of murmuring at his proceedings, I may devote myself to his interest with more zeal and holy vigour the remaining part of life. Lord, help me!”

“ Yesterday, March 22, through divine mercy, I was enabled to preach once, in the morning, on *Phil.* i. 23: though I was much fatigued with it indeed. I have reason to bless a gracious God, that my people seem so much concerned for my welfare, and so desirous of my labours amongst them. Lord, grant that I may study their interest, and always feel such an affectionate regard for them, that I may gladly spend and be spent for their sakes. I am now removed, for the health of my family, to Mile-End. I hope God will bless us and keep us moderately healthy, and make me useful the remaining part of my life. The Lord grant it, for Jesus’ sake! Amen.”

February 25th was appointed by government as a day of fasting and humiliation; and Mr. T. who was always ready to seize any occasion of promoting the good of his country, had prepared a discourse for that day, which his indisposition prevented him from delivering. After his recovery, he published it, with the title of “ The Cause of National Calamities, and the certain Means of preventing or removing them: a Sermon on 1 *Sam.* xii. 14, 15.” It consists of doctrinal observations on the text, and practical instructions derived from them. Like all the other productions of the author, it is simple, sensible and edifying.

April 30. Mr. T. was so far recovered, as to be able to engage with his friend Mr. Austin in the ordination of Mr. Hobbs at Chatham. On this occasion, he offered the general prayer, delivered an introductory discourse, offered the prayer for the minister and three deacons, and delivered a charge to the minister from 1 *Tim.* iv. 16, and an exhortation to the deacons, from 1 *Tim.* iii. 13. The last was so highly approved, that he was earnestly requested to print it. He seems to have been disposed to comply, as he copied out a considerable part of it for the press; but probably the domestic afflictions of the author prevented its publication.

June 17, he set out for the association at Nottingham, by way of St. Ives, Boston, &c. In this excursion, he preached fourteen times, and attended to various other laborious concerns; and returned to London, July 2. At the association, he read the circular letter which he had prepared "on the Depravity of Human Nature." In which he proposed to explain the meaning of the phrase—prove the fact—and shew to what important purposes it ought to be improved." It was cordially approved, and ordered to be printed.

Soon after his return, July 23, he observes in his Diary, "Since I had the fever, my cough and other complaints have been so many, and my avocations so numerous and important, that I have omitted going to Poplar since that time. I now venture again: and O may the presence and power of God go with me, for Jesus' sake!" One would scarcely have supposed that his labours at Chatham and on his late journey, were performed by an invalid, oppressed with a cough and many other complaints; but the vigour of his mind made him forget the weakness of his body.

The hurry of business, the afflictions of his family, and his other avocations, had, for some time, occupied his mind and prevented his application to study; of this he was well aware, and endeavoured to guard against it. August 17, he writes, "By reason of my large family, many avocations and business, I have not much time for reading, besides what is necessary for composing five or six sermons in a week. But I determine, by divine assistance, to read the New Testament through afresh; not only to have a clearer view of the blessed word of God in general; but also to observe and note down (for further more

critical study, or to mention in conversation or correspondence with learned friends) all the difficulties in order as they occur. When I have done this, I intend to read the Old Testament in the same manner and with the same views: Lord, assist, direct and succeed me in my poor endeavours to glorify thee, and to serve my brethren in their best, their eternal interests, and to do good to mankind, Amen." So conscientiously careful was this good man, in the midst of all his anxieties and avocations, not to neglect any thing that might assist him in his great work of preaching the gospel.

While he was thus devising plans for his own improvement, he was, on August 24, deprived of a friend and fellow labourer, by the decease of Dr. S. Stennett, the worthy pastor of the Particular Baptist church, in Little Wild Street. As a long and intimate friendship had subsisted between the deceased and the subject of this Memoir, the latter preached a funeral sermon for the Doctor, which he afterwards printed, as a mark of respect to one whom he "esteemed among the best of men and the best of ministers." It was founded on *1 Tim. iv. 6*, and called "A Good Minister of Jesus Christ." The preacher considered the general character of gospel preachers, 'ministers of Jesus Christ'—the particular qualities of a *good* minister—the glorious reward of such—and the loss sustained when these are called away by death. This plan is pursued in the usual judicious and useful method of the author, and affords abundant proof of his esteem and affection for the deceased.

The friends at Church Lane informed the association that "they were not so lively, zealous and unanimous as in years past." Indeed, the cause of religion amongst them evidently declined; as the increase during the year had been only five, while the decrease had amounted to fourteen! These melancholy circumstances deeply affected the heart of the worthy pastor, and excited him to diligent self-examination, as to the cause of this declension, and the means of stopping its progress. Oct. 18, 1795, he observes in his Diary—"On taking a short survey, this morning, of the state of the church, and of my own heart; I find on the whole, reason to rejoice; but too many things still amiss. As to myself, I will endeavour, by the grace of God, in the use of proper means, such as self-examination, humiliation, self-denial, watchfulness, prayer, and faith in Christ Jesus, that my soul

may be recovered, quickened and healed. As to my people, I intend, God helping me, to make strict observation upon them, with all tenderness and care, as a father would examine the health and prosperity of his children; and to read over again the epistolary part of the New Testament, to enable me to admonish and instruct them; and to correct their irregularities of temper, speech and conduct. But in doing this, I would endeavour so to mingle the consolatory parts of christianity, as may prevent the admonitions or practical instructions from appearing dry or unkind. Lord, teach me yet more and more the very important art of rightly dividing the word of truth! and enable me, with the wisdom that cometh from above, to give every one his portion of meat in due season! I bless thee, O my God, for the quickenings of thy Spirit, which I trust, I experience this morning. I humbly look upon them as a token for good to me and to the church; and would hope by thy grace, to improve them to thy glory, for my own spiritual benefit, and for theirs. Lord, teach me, and graciously enable me to teach those committed to my care, and to watch for their souls, as one that must give an account. My account is awful, and my work great indeed! Quicken me, strengthen me, guide me, and support me, O my gracious God and Father, that I may at last give up my account with joy. Amen." In order to accomplish the object of these pious resolutions, he made out "a list of texts for the revival of real religion, if it please God, in my own heart and in the congregation among whom I labour."

1796. June 20, Mr. T. set out for Boston, and visited several of the churches. At the Association, he read the circular letter, "On the Duties of Church Members to each other." This letter was highly approved, and ordered to be printed with the Minutes. Mr. T. was also requested to publish it, in a separate form, for more general circulation, which he did in a few months afterwards. It is an excellent tract, and enforces the mutual duties of church members, in a clear affectionate manner, from the great and powerful principle of undissembled love. The members of this Association were so deeply sensible of the important obligations which the New Connection had received from the subject of this Memoir, through the whole course of its existence, that, on the circular letter being read, it was unanimously

resolved, "that the thanks of this Association be given to brother D. Taylor, for writing the circular letter; and for all his other essential services to our connection: and that this resolution be printed in the Minutes."

Mr. T. returned to London, July 9, when we find the following entry in his Diary: "Early on Monday Morning, June 20, I went out on a long journey which appeared of great importance, and together with the labours of it, employed nineteen days. Besides an association at Boston, and some other occasional labours, I preached seventeen times: I hope to the profit of many. I returned in the evening of Saturday very weary, but weary in a good cause, in the promotion of which I rejoice; and for which I hope I could cheerfully spend and be spent. I was enabled, on the day following, to administer the Lord's Supper and to preach three times: blessed be God! May I now, through grace, begin afresh to serve the Lord Christ, and to save souls to the utmost of my ability. Lord, help me to do it better than I yet ever have done!"

With such views and resolutions, he resumed his labours among a people, most of whom he sincerely esteemed and by whom he was highly respected. But the cause did not prosper. A spirit of contention had for some time been too prevalent; and though the pastor was not often the subject of the contests, yet the minds of the members were kept in a continual ferment. This unhappy state of things deeply affected him, and prevented the success of his best endeavours. He mourned over the declension of a cause for which he had made such great sacrifices, and to the promotion of which he had so disinterestedly devoted all his powers. After revolving seriously on the most eligible means of checking the disorders which he lamented, he resolved on one that struck all parties with consternation. On July 27, he sent the following note to the church meeting: "*Dear Brethren,* I think it my duty to inform you, that I intend, if preserved till then, to resign the pastoral office among you next Christmas. I have several reasons to assign for it; but as they may afford matter for contention, and some of you are too prone to contend, it may perhaps, if you can excuse me, be most proper to omit the mentioning of them. I fix upon Christmas rather than Michaelmas, from a regard to your welfare; which I can truly say has been my first and great concern,

ever since I came among you. But if you can with convenience sooner provide yourselves with another minister, and would rather have me resign at Michaelmas, it will be agreeable to me. I beg the favour of an answer to this, whether Michaelmas or Christmas will be more agreeable to you, as soon as possible. It will always give me pleasure to hear of your prosperity, and to do all in my power to promote it. I am, dear brethren, your sincerely affectionate brother and ready servant, for Jesus' sake,

D. TAYLOR."

This letter produced a great sensation. The younger members, who were warmly attached to their minister, with the precipitancy natural to youth, immediately determined to separate from the rest, form a distinct church, and invite Mr. T. to be their pastor. The more experienced, though many of them equally esteemed Mr. T. saw the mischiefs of these hasty measures, and laboured to promote some plan by which the real advantage of all parties might be secured, without the painful measure of a division. Committees were appointed to negotiate this important business; and numerous meetings were held. The minister interfered as little as possible; and when he did, he uniformly recommended peace and union. At length, the influence of the moderate party prevailed: a few of the most turbulent members either withdrew or were excluded; and a number of general principles were agreed upon, as the ground of future proceedings. An earnest and unanimous invitation was given him to continue in the pastoral relation with them; which, after mature deliberation, he accepted. At the close of the year, the re-union was confirmed: and, by the recommendation of Mr. T. "the 3d of January, 1797, was observed by the church as a day of fasting and prayer, in consequence of the uneasinesses of the past year, to humble themselves before God, and earnestly to seek his blessing for the future."

This was probably the issue which Mr. T. expected. He does appear to have formed a serious design of leaving London; but apparently gave the notice of his resignation, in order to rouse his friends to act more firmly and consistently; and induce the church to purge itself of a few troublers of Israel; whose conduct and its baneful effects he had long viewed with sorrow. In a letter to his brother at Queenshead, dated Sept. 16, he observes: "As to the reasons for my resigning the pastoral office,

I have resolutely and invariably avoided giving them to any one. Nor have I even mentioned to any one in town or country, besides yourself and the church, that I have declared my design of resignation. It is however known both in town and country; and, like other things of a similar kind, spreads fast enough. I have thought fit to observe this secrecy, if it be called such, not only that I might not take up my time, every moment of which is precious, with talking to others about things in which they have no concern; but also and chiefly for two other reasons: First, That I might not be under a temptation to say a single word, to any person living, that might be construed into a reflection on the church I serve, or any member of it. Second, That I might not be perplexed with invitations from other churches and ministers, that would throw me into confusion. For I wish to stand awhile upon clear, free ground; that, if our church should conclude to request me to resume my office among them, I might be unembarrassed, and at liberty to attend with impartiality to their proposals. Thus I stand at present: though I have had invitations already; but I have given no ear to them. Our church have had several meetings; but chiefly first to divide, and then to re-unite themselves. In these I have sometimes not been present; and, at all times, interfered as little as I well could. When I have been called to interfere, it has been to preserve the church together, if possible. All wish me to stay, as far as I know; and I find they meet the next Lord's day week to make some proposals to me. I hope the Lord will direct all for good." To another correspondent, he says: "Though the general cry is for me to stop in London, and I have many attachments to induce me to it, besides the strong affection I feel for most of the members; yet some difficulties are in the way which I know not how to remove. I hope God will direct in due time. As to my satisfaction, it is a small matter. If they go on and prosper, all will be right."

Mr. T. during the former part of his residence in London, was in the habit of attending the General Assembly in Worship Street; and though he had no direct connection with it, frequently joined in its deliberations, and sometimes presided at its meetings. This year he read, at this Assembly, a letter to the churches, on "the Universality of our Saviour's Death," which he had drawn up at their request. This was approved and

desired to be printed, to which he consented. As it was on his favourite topic, it is almost needless to say that it contains many excellent arguments, clearly stated and usefully applied.

1797. In March, Mr. T. set out on a journey, in the service of the churches, of which he has left the following account, in his Diary :—“ Monday, March 20th, I went out on a long journey. Tuesday, preached at Gosberton; Wednesday, ordained Mr. Briggs, and gave him a charge, from *Heb.* xiii. 17, with a long introductory discourse on church fellowship, ordination, &c. Thursday, at Boston, gave a long introductory discourse, and a charge, from *1 Tim.* iv. 16. to Mr. W. Taylor. Friday, preached at Coningsby; on Lord’s day, 26th, at Boston, Gosberton, and Spalding. Monday, at Fleet; Tuesday, at Wisbeach; Thursday, at St. Ive’s. Returned home; rode all night, and arrived safe on Friday morning. Found all moderately well. Blessed be God! Lord, quicken my soul; animate my views; enable me still to spend my all for thee, and for the souls of men; and Lord, still succeed me!” In June, he took another journey: when, after presiding and preaching at the Association at Kegworth, he proceeded to Melbourn; where, July 3d, he assisted at the ordination of Mr. E. Whitaker, and preached to the people, from *1 Thess.* v. 13. Next morning, he set out homewards, and found all his connections in tolerable health. This excited his pious gratitude; and he exclaims: “ Bless the Lord, O my soul! O that the remaining part of my short life may be spent for him who has done and continues to do so much for me and mine!”

At the Association this year, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to establish an institution for the instruction of young ministers in the New Connection of General Baptists. Subscriptions were entered into for carrying this resolution into effect; and it was agreed to commence in the beginning of the following year. This had long been a favourite object with Mr. T. and he had laboured much to promote it at almost every association since the formation of the connection. In October, 1794. he wrote to a confidential correspondent, in these strong terms; “ You cannot more ardently wish than I do, that our young ministers could be more assisted and better instructed. But who must do it? You were requested to undertake it; but you refused. Where is there another? And how can any good

be obtained, if those who are able do not exert themselves in it? I pretend to no ability for such a work. The little I had is certainly impaired by the labours and distresses of the last four years; at least so far as respects the learned languages. But I am so distressed at times, on account of the state of the ministry among the General Baptists, that I am almost ready in my own apprehension to lie down and die. I think I could cheerfully sacrifice my little all, if I could in any way contribute to remedy it. It has always been difficult for me to push this, because the eyes of many have been upon me to undertake it: and it is natural to surmise that a person in such a predicament wants to set up and signalize himself. If you and others would push it, I am quite satisfied it would soon be effected: and I am almost ready to call it the only thing I wish to see before I die. Do, my brother, lay this matter seriously to heart."

It was no sooner determined to make the attempt, than Mr. T. was earnestly requested to accept the office of Tutor. This he long declined; and recommended several of his brethren in the ministry as more fit for the station. These successively refused it; and at length, when he saw the plan in danger of being stifled in its birth, he consented to undertake the office. On this subject he thus writes to Mr. Fr——n, August 7, 1797. "After so many years refusal, I am almost brought to yield to solicitations and to attempt a work which you and others have so long declined. I have no view in it, but merely to prevent the present effort towards obtaining so important an object from coming to nought; and to set the business a going, that some other brother in the ministry may take it up, and execute it to much more effect than I can pretend to expect. This hasty scrawl implores all the assistance you can give; and earnestly requests that you would, as soon as possible, and in the most copious manner, send me your maturest thoughts respecting the subjects on which such young preachers ought to be instructed, the method of conducting their studies, and the most proper books to be read for the purpose by them and by me. You must know my great incapacity; and therefore I hope that you will not fail to mention any thing that can be of service to so great a design, in the hands of your poor, ignorant and unworthy brother." With these views, did this good man assume an office to which he attached great importance, as it regarded the pros-

perity of that interest to which he had devoted all his powers. In the commencement of the following year, the academy was opened; and his nephew, James Taylor, now of Heptonstall-Slack, was his first pupil.

At this time, it was also resolved to establish a periodical miscellany for the use of the New Connection; but lest this design should interfere with the other plans of the Association, it was thought more eligible to make it a private risque. A number of ministers and others formed themselves into a society for this purpose; and determined to publish a monthly pamphlet, under the title of "The General Baptist Magazine." When the question was proposed who should superintend the publication as Editor, all as usual looked to Mr. T. At their request, he undertook to conduct the work; and though already overburdened with engagements, he published the first number, Jan. 1, 1798.

The contests which distracted the friends in Church Lane, in 1796, being in a good measure composed and harmony restored, they carried on the cause of their Saviour through this year with vigour and success. In the former part of it, several meetings for discipline were held; and some dead branches cut off. This painful, though necessary, measure appears to have produced happy effects. In the latter part of the year, many were received into fellowship; and the cause seemed to prosper more than it had done for several previous years.

~ 1798. Mr. T. was closely occupied through this year with his church, his magazine and his pupils; of whom he had three or four before the close of it. He also preached frequently at Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, where he and his students supplied regularly. Mr. T. spent one Lord's day every six or eight weeks with this people, and his students went at other times. This was continued for several years. At Midsummer he attended the Association at Halifax, and preached often for his old friends, as well as for the different churches which he visited on his journey. July 6, he returned to London and resumed his labours. In the beginning of November he was laid aside one Lord's day through indisposition; which he thus notices in his Diary. "During the last week, I have been confined by a slight fever and ulcerated throat; but, through divine mercy, I am now better. O! that my spared life may be dedicated

more than it has been to the honour of him that gives it. Lord, help me; and give me spiritual health and vigour: and, by thy Spirit enable me to be more diligently, more indefatigably and more successfully devoted to the promotion of thy glory, through Jesus, thy dear Son, my only Saviour. Amen."

At the Association, the circular letter, written by Mr. T. on "the Evidences of Regeneration" was read and approved. The writer proposed "to notice some things which have been introduced on this subject, which prove nothing either for or against it—to mention some certain marks of an unregenerate person—and to state a few evidences of true christianity." It is a close, searching and useful letter.

1799. With a view of affording the young men under his care an opportunity of exercising their ministerial abilities, and also with the hopes of extending the cause of the Redeemer, he hired a house near his own residence at Mile End, and fitted it up for public worship. This he opened, Jan. 23, 1799, with an appropriate discourse, from *Exod.* xx. 24: and continued to preach in it stately till his death.

Some time previous to this date, the ancient General Baptist church in the Park, Southwark, was nearly extinct. Mr. T. was very assiduous in collecting the scattered remains of this society, and re-uniting them in church order. With the assistance of the students and the occasional ministers at Church Lane, he supplied it regularly with preaching for a considerable time. A degree of success attended his disinterested efforts; and, on April 23, he had the satisfaction of assisting at the ordination of Mr. J. B. Shenston, who had been a member of his own church, over this reviving society; to whom he gave a charge from *Acts* xx. 24.

On the 11th of this month, he had been engaged in the same solemn work at Berkhamstead, when he addressed Mr. S. Young from *1 Cor.* iv. 2. On both these occasions, he delivered also the introductory discourse, offered the ordination prayer, and asked the usual questions.

June 25, he preached at the Association at Wimeswould, from *Rom.* xv. 19; and the discourse was so well approved, that he was requested to print it. Probably his numerous avocations prevented him from complying with this request. On his

return, he paid a hasty visit to the churches in Leicestershire; and preached nine times in five days. Soon after his arrival at home, he took a journey of ten days into Wiltshire, and spent one Lord's day at Downton. On the 30th of July, we find him at Deal, in Kent, giving a charge to Mr. John Kingsford, on his ordination to the pastoral office. And Oct. 8, he was at March, Lincolnshire; where he preached at the opening of the new meeting-house, in that place, from 1 Pet. i. 3, 5. When we consider his engagements with his church, the academy and magazine, we must admire his industry that found leisure for so many journeys, and for the preparation of so many discourses, on such solemn and important occasions.

The cause at Church Lane continued to improve, though very gradually. Eleven were baptized this year; but several were removed. To Mrs. M——, an absent member, he writes, Sept. 14: "Through divine mercy, my family is tolerably well, and so are the members of the church. We are making some progress in the work of Christ, and our number keeps rather increasing than diminishing; though we lose many by death and otherwise. O! how pleasing it is to see sinners brought near to Jesus Christ and renewed unto holiness. Blessed be God for some such instances lately of divine mercy to miserable sinners."

Ever solicitous to promote the success of those doctrines which he believed to be the truths of the gospel, Mr. T. exerted himself to form a closer union among the few General Baptist ministers in London and its vicinity, who agreed with him in sentiment. These he invited to meet him at Chatham, Sept. 11, 1799, when they laid the foundation of that periodical meeting, since denominated *The London Conference*. The ministers who first united were Mr. T.; Mr. J. B. Shenston, of the Park; Mr. E. Sexton, of Chesham; and Mr. J. Hobbs, of Chatham. Mr. T. punctually attended this meeting till death removed him to the church above: and it is still maintained, though the loss of its founder and president is deeply felt.

1800. This year opened with domestic trials. Mr. T. a daughter, and one of the students, were seriously indisposed for some time; but were mercifully restored to health. This did not abate his zeal for the promotion of the cause in which he was

engaged. Finding the place which he had opened at Mile-End well attended with hearers and likely to be useful, he transformed the premises into a small meeting house. The expence of this alteration was about £260; for the whole of which he made himself personally responsible. This pressed heavily upon him for some time; but the liberality of his London friends and the assistance of country churches at length relieved him, in a great degree, from a burden much too heavy for his circumstances. The place was opened, June 12, 1800, by Mr. (now Dr.) Newman, and Mr. T. The former preached from *Luke xxiv. 47*; and the latter from *Acts xiv. 7*.

A daring attempt was made, May 16, 1800, to assassinate his Majesty, in Drury Lane Theatre, by a shot fired by one Hadfield. On this occasion, congratulatory addresses were presented to the throne from various quarters; and the general body of dissenting ministers in and near London, thought proper to express their sense of gratitude for the preservation of a life so important to the peace of society. The subject of this Memoir, who, as we have seen, had been admitted into that respectable society soon after his settling in London, and was now member of two of its committees, was chosen one of the deputies to present their address to the king. Accordingly he and sixteen others waited on his Majesty for that purpose, June 11, and were graciously received. Mr. T. mentions this circumstance to a correspondent, who had made some enquiries, in these terms. “With a measure of pleasure in one view and of pain in another, I may just tell you, that I must, if spared, be called with some other ministers, I suppose in a few days, to address his Majesty on his late happy deliverance—That you and I may at last appear before the King of Kings and Lord of Lords with exceeding joy, through the efficacy of his own all-cleansing blood, is the prayer of your’s, affectionately, D. T.”

June 18, Mr. T. set out for the Annual Association at Spalding, where he presided and preached. From thence he went, at the request of that assembly, to Louth, to secure a meeting-house in that town, which the Association had agreed to purchase. Having completed that business, he returned home on July 4. In this journey, he preached at St. Ives, Chatteris, March, Fleet, Wisbeach, Tydd St. Giles, Gosberton, Spalding, Boston, Burgh, Maltby and Coningsby. In October he visited

the same parts to supply Wisbeach, which was then destitute of a pastor, where he spent two Lord's days. After visiting several adjacent churches, he reached London, Nov. 5, having been absent fifteen days, and preached fourteen times.

At home, a pleasing degree of harmony prevailed; and Mr. T. and his friends strove together for the promotion of the cause of their Saviour. Nor were their efforts wholly unsuccessful; the seasons of public worship were well attended, and several came forward and declared themselves on the Lord's side. The pastor continued his assiduous exertions to spread the gospel; not only in his own pulpit, but at Mile-End, Poplar, Hoddeson, Cane's Place, &c. where he preached frequently: besides taking his share with other dissenting ministers in supporting Lectures for charitable purposes, at Shakespear's Walk, Dean Street, and other places.

The General Baptist Magazine had now continued three years, but it did not meet with great encouragement. The Connection, for the use of which it was principally designed, had yet acquired but little taste for reading. The Editor was completely occupied with engagements of the greatest moment, which demanded his whole attention: he could not therefore either compose or select materials, with that taste and variety, which are requisite to the success of a periodical work. Indeed his talents were perhaps better adapted to close, serious and continued disquisition, than to that light mode of treating subjects which is proper for a miscellany. Probably too his judgment might be influenced by the committee; and pieces sometimes admitted which would otherwise have been laid aside. However it was, the undertaking failed of success; and involved those who had engaged in it, in no little expence. It was discontinued, at the close of this year; and the Editor seized the occasion of the preface of the last volume, to give a serious and edifying exhortation to his readers.

1801. June 17, Mr. T. set out for Yorkshire, and spent the following Lord's day at Wadsworth: preaching, in the morning and afternoon, at Birchcliff; and, in the evening, for his old esteemed friend, Dr. Fawcett, at Hebden Bridge. On the 25th he assisted at the ordination of Mr. Barker, over the church at Birchcliff: when he delivered the introductory discourse, pro-

posed the questions, offered the ordination prayer, and gave the charge, from *Matt.* xx. 28. In the evening of the same day, he addressed the young minister, from *2 Chron.* xxxiv. 3; and spent the following Lord's day with the churches at Queenshead and Halifax. The next morning, he left Yorkshire; and, after travelling all night, assisted, on Tuesday, at the ordination of Mr. Felkin, at Kegworth. On this occasion, he took those parts of the solemn work in which he had so lately engaged at Birchcliff: founding the charge to the minister, on *Heb.* xiii. 17. From Kegworth, he went to Loughborough to the Association, which commenced at seven o'clock the next morning. In the afternoon, he preached from *3 John* 8. At this meeting, he read the circular letter which, at the request of the former Association, he had prepared on "the Concurrence of the People with their Ministers in promoting the Interest of Christ," which was approved and ordered to be printed. The Lord's day after the Association, Mr. T. laboured at Nottingham: and, on his return homewards, preached at Leake, Melbourn, Castle-Donington, Hugglescote, Hinckley, Longford and Wolvey. He reached London, at two in the morning of the Lord's day, July 12; and preached three times and administered the Lord's supper to his own flock. On this journey, he was absent twenty-five days; and besides attending two ordinations and the Association, preached twenty-six times.

In the latter part of this year, this active minister, took two short excursions: one in September to attend the London Conference at Haarston, Cambridgeshire; and the other in the beginning of October, when he spent a Lord's day with the church at Berkhamstead; preaching in the morning at Chesham, in the afternoon at Berkhamstead, and in the evening at Tring.

1802. In the former part of this year, our author was employed in preparing and publishing a new edition of his "Fundamentals of Religion," under the title of "The Principal Parts of the Christian Religion respecting Faith and Practice." The corrections are numerous, and an entire chapter is added on "the Operations of the Holy Spirit." In addition to the Dedication to the Church at Wadsworth, which had been prefixed to the first edition, the author inscribed this improved impression to the Church of Christ assembling in Church Lane,

Whitechapel, over which he then presided, in an address full of affection and piety. He informs them that this re-publication which had been earnestly requested for more than twenty years, had been deferred from time to time, with a view to increase the number of improvements and render the work more perfect; but, that his numerous and important avocations preventing him from giving it that attention which he wished to give it, and being sensible that he ought not to expect the vigour of his mind, or even his life, should be long continued, he had presented it to his friends in a less perfect state, lest he should not be able to do it at all. This edition, however, affords pleasing evidence of the care and industry of the author; and, in many instances, has received important improvement from his increased knowledge and experience. But, at the same time, it furnishes a laudable instance of steadiness of sentiment. Twenty-seven years of study and controversy had not led him to change any important opinion advanced in the first edition. “In an age like the present,” he observes to his friends at Church Lane, “in which the peculiar truths of the gospel are so much slighted and so frequently despised, every one who loves the blessed Redeemer and the immortal souls of men, ought to esteem it his duty and his honour to bear a testimony for those doctrines. The author ventures to say, that he takes a sensible pleasure in once more bearing a testimony for them before he leaves the present state of folly and darkness.”

The Association was in London this year; and, through some mistake, no circular letter being prepared, Mr. T. was requested to draw up an Address to the Churches, founded on a view of their present state, as reported to this meeting. This he performed in a very edifying manner, and printed it with the Minutes.

After the Association, he made an excursion into Wiltshire, and spent two Lord's days at Downton. He arrived at home, July 9, and found his family and friends well. On this occasion he makes this reflection: “Bless the Lord, O my soul, for all his mercies to a poor, unfaithful, unfruitful creature. Lord, help me now more than ever to dedicate my time, talents and life to the promotion of thy glory. Amen.”

Towards the close of this year, Mr. T. was twice engaged in the solemn work of ordination. Oct. 31, he gave a charge to

Mr. John Kingsford, at Portsea, from *Tit.* i. 7. Dec. 2, he assisted at the setting apart of Mr. Jos. Hobbs, to be co-pastor with Mr. E. Sexton, over the church at Berkhamstead, Chesham and Tring. Mr. T. delivered an introductory discourse; proposed the questions to the church, to the minister, and to four brethren who were then ordained to the office of Deacons; engaged in the ordination prayer; addressed the pastors, from *Acts* xx. 28; in the afternoon, gave a charge to the deacons, from 1 *Pet.* iv. 11; and in the evening, preached to the church, from 1 *Thess.* v. 13. A busy day for a man of sixty-four.

Towards the close of this year, some very unhappy circumstances transpired, which involved the church at Birchcliff in great difficulty. In their perplexity, they applied to their former pastor for advice and assistance: and in compliance with their request, he set out for Yorkshire, Dec. 23, and returned to London, Jan. 6, 1803. His presence and councils, on this trying occasion, were very useful to his ancient friends.

1803. This year Mr. T. was, as usual, busily engaged in his great work of promoting the spread of the gospel. April 23, he attended the London Conference at Chatham; and was requested to publish a new edition of his letter on the duties of church members to each other. June 28, he attended the Association at Derby. July 22, he set out to supply Downton, Wilts, for two Lord's days. Before he left home, he entered in his Diary. "Going off for Downton, Lord, go with me. Guide me; preserve me; and keep me from all evil; and render my poor labours useful to the souls of men." On his return, he observes. "Aug. 4, returned home. O the obligations under which I lie to bless and praise my gracious God for his great goodness to me, my family, and my friends! Lord, grant that I may live under the impression of thy loving kindness more sensibly than ever I have done!" In October, he visited Lincolnshire, and preached at the opening of two meeting-houses; one at Sutterton, on the 23d, and the other at Wisbeach on the 27th. The day following he attended a conference at Tydd St. Giles, when he preached from *Acts* xvi. 17.

This year, Mr. T. who, since his removal to London had occasionally attended the general assembly in Worship Street,

and thus maintained a degree of correspondence with that body, informed the Association, that, in consequence of his increasing disapprobation of the sentiments espoused by too many of the members of the general assembly, he must in future decline attending it: and, it is believed, that he was seldom present afterwards at any of its meetings. About the same time, he joined a weekly meeting for prayer, conducted by many of the dissenting ministers in London; at which he assisted with great punctuality.

1804. This spring, Mr. T. was seriously indisposed. March 27, he informs Mr. F—n, “I am now greatly an invalid: have had a cough and shortness of breath for many weeks. I am told by the doctor that my lungs are inflamed, and am forbidden to preach: so that I have been kept from that work, which is the principal pleasure of my life, both the last Lerd’s days, as well as on the week days. I have, besides much purging and blistering, been copiously bled; and am now told that it will be necessary for me to be cupped. But, through mercy, the symptoms are favourable; and I have reason to think the inflammation is much abated, if not removed. I am now under restraint as to preaching, and told that I must not preach much, if at all, for a considerable time to come. But I am under some obligations which I must discharge, if possible, though with great caution; to preach the annual sermon, the next week, for the first dissenting school in England, instituted at Queen Anne’s death—a sermon at the London Conference, at Portsea, the week after—and a charge to brother Smedley at Downton, the week after that. From that little excursion, I have considerable hopes of improvement in health. Besides I must do what I can for my own dear people. ‘The Lord do what seems him good. I rejoice in the hope of his glory. Poor religion that cannot support a dying hour! Blessed be God for an atoning Saviour.’” In his Diary of the same date, he observes, “I am, through the blessing of my heavenly Father, now considerably easier and better: and am beginning, though very cautiously, to resume the functions of my high and holy calling. Dropped a few words the night before last, in the vestry, about twelve minutes; and about half an hour last night at Mile-End; and hope to say a little in Church Lane, this evening. Thank—

be to God for all his mercies! O Lord, may I never live to myself but to thee!"

April 1, he resumed his beloved labours in his own pulpit; and, on the following day, preached the annual sermon for the Original Protestant Dissenters' Charity School, Shakespear's Walk. On the 9th. he set out for the Conference at Portsea; and, after preaching there, he went forwards to Downton, where he delivered a charge to Mr. W. Smedley, from *1 Tim.* iv. 12, and returned to London on the 20th. After his return, he informed Mr. B. "I have lately made a journey into Wiltshire, &c. of ten days; which has been very serviceable to me. I only preached four times on the journey, and that very cautiously; three occasional sermons, and one common one. Blessed be God, my mind was and is happy in the views of death, as it respects myself; and I wish not to live but for him that died for me."

May 21, Mr. T. set out for the Association. On the 22d. he assisted at the ordination of Mr. J. Jarrom, over the General Baptist church at Wisbeach: when he offered the ordination prayer, and gave a charge to the minister, from *2 Tim.* ii. 15. On the following day, he presided and preached at the Association; and at this meeting, made a motion which deeply affected his brethren. He observed, that, as according to the common course of nature, he could not expect to be able long to act as Tutor to the Academy, he thought it prudent for the Association to look out for some other person to sustain that office after his removal. This proposition was esteemed worthy of attention; and a committee was appointed to confer with Mr. T. on the subject. To this committee, he mentioned a person who, in his opinion, might, by properly directing his studies, be qualified at some future time for the office. It was not thought prudent to divulge the name of this gentleman; but it has generally been supposed that this recommendation had an influence in the choice of his successor.

Ever anxious to promote the cause of his Redeemer and the usefulness of his fellow-labourers in the gospel, he seized every opportunity of encouraging plans to advance these important objects. In his Memoranda, under date Aug. 1804, we find the following entry. "At a meeting for prayer and consultation at Mr. Shenston's, present Mr. J. B. Shenston, Mr. J. Kingsford,

Mr. D. Taylor, and Mr. J. Tarratt occasionally, resolved, That a meeting for conversation and prayer be held by us every second Tuesday in the quarter—that none but preachers be admitted—that the meetings be at Mr. T.'s, Mr. Shenston's, and Mr. Kingsford's in rotation, and begin at five precisely—that after prayer, we proceed to make remarks on each others preaching, &c.—that every minister be at liberty to ask his brethren questions, &c. as may seem to him proper." This meeting was continued for some time, till circumstances occurred which separated the members. It is easy to conceive that opportunities of frequently consulting each other in cases of difficulty, and of hearing the free observations of their brethren on their conduct and labours, must conduce greatly to their mutual advantage. The younger ministers indeed must have found these stated interviews with a person of so much wisdom and experience, and so ready to communicate, as Mr. T. was, highly advantageous.

Oct. 23, the subject of this Memoir assisted at the ordination of Mr. Driver, at Hoddesdon; to whom he gave a charge from *Ezek. iii. 17.*

There appears to have been some improvement in the state of religion at Church Lane this year: the church being peaceful and unanimous; and ten having been added by baptism.

1805. At the Association at Leicester this year, M. T. read the Letter which, at the request of the preceding meeting, he had prepared on "the Atonement of Christ." In this circular he explains, confirms, and improves the great doctrine, that the blessed Saviour laid down his life as a sacrifice for our sins, and that this sacrifice is the only ground of our pardon and acceptance with God: a doctrine which, through the whole course of his ministry, it had been his favourite employment to illustrate and enforce; and to which, in this his last printed circular, he bears his decided testimony as a "truth that lies at the foundation of all human hope."

From the Association, Mr. T. went to Louth, where he delivered an introductory discourse at the ordination of Mr. Cameron, proposed the usual questions, and gave a charge to the minister from *Col. iv. 17.* He was again engaged in this pleasing service, Oct. 24th, at Sutterton, when his son-in-law, Mr. J. Bissill, was ordained to the pastoral office over the church at

Gosberton. On this occasion, he gave an introductory discourse, offered the ordination prayer, and addressed the minister from the appropriate words of the wise man; *Prov.* xxiii. 15, 16: "My son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine: yea my reins shall rejoice when thy lips shall speak right things."

1806. The Association being at Queenshead this year, Mr. T. had an opportunity of visiting his old friends. He preached at the Association, June 24, from *Matt.* ix. 38. From the Association, he went to Wadsworth; and, on the following Lord's day preached two sermons in his former meeting-house, and one for Dr. Fawcett. On the Tuesday, he was engaged at the ordination of Mr. Hollinrake over the church at Birchcliff; when he delivered an introductory discourse, offered the ordination prayer, and gave a charge to the minister, from *1 Tim.* iv. 6. On the Wednesday, he preached at Shore; on the Thursday, at Burnley, and on the Lord's day at Halifax and Queenshead. At the latter place, he delivered a funeral discourse for his brother's wife, who had died several months previously, from *Psalm* xxxiv. 19. On the Monday morning, he set out for the midland counties; and on the following day, preached at Nottingham. On the Wednesday, the friends and supporters of the Academy over which he presided, assembled at Loughborough, to whom, according to a previous appointment, he preached on "the Nature and Importance of preparatory Studies prior to entering on the Christian Ministry." This discourse was founded on *Matt.* xiii. 52; and was afterwards published at the earnest request of those who heard it. It has been characterized by competent judges, as "a serious and judicious discourse, wholly directed to its important object, and replete with useful and weighty instruction." From Loughborough, Mr. T. proceeded to Hinckley, where he preached on the following evening. The next day, he went forward to Longford, and assisted at the ordination of Mr. Cramp over the church in that place; whom he addressed from *1 Cor.* iv. 2. He set out for London the next morning, and arrived safely at home on the Saturday evening, and on the following day, preached three times and administered the Lord's Supper to his own people.

At the Association, it was stated that there appeared to be an

opportunity for reviving the General Baptist cause in Salisbury; and that Assembly was requested to endeavour to procure ministerial supplies for a meeting-house in that town, which it was supposed might be obtained. The Association thought the subject worthy of attention; and requested Mr. T. to pay a visit to Salisbury, with a view of making the requisite inquiries and forming a plan for future operations. In compliance with this request, he set out on Monday, July 21; spent one Lord's day at Salisbury, and returned home on the ensuing Friday. In this excursion, he preached twice for Mr. Saffery at Salisbury, twice in the meeting-house already mentioned, twice at Downton, and once at Lyndhurst. It does not appear that any permanent effects followed this visit.

January 27, 1806, died Mr. A. Booth, the worthy pastor of the Particular Baptist Church in Little Prescot Street; a minister with whom Mr. T. had lived on the most friendly terms, and whose advice he had often sought in cases of difficulty. Mr. T. was much affected with the loss of his valuable friend; and paid a tribute of respect to his memory, in a sermon which he delivered to his own people, Feb. 2, from 1 Pet. v. 4, which he appears to have entertained some thoughts of committing to the press, under the title of "The good Shepherd crowned." After Mr. B.'s death, Mr. T. consented to make a catalogue of his books, which he thus notices to his friend, Mr. F—n, April 25. "The family of my late friend Mr. B. applied to me, requesting me to superintend the disposal of his books. I could not refuse on account of former friendship, though my leisure is so small. I have therefore made them a catalogue, by which they are selling them by private contract, at the prices affixed. This catalogue has obtained the applause of men of judgment, both booksellers and readers. I know your curiosity, and therefore send you one for five minutes' amusement." As we have not had the pleasure to see this famous catalogue, we cannot describe its peculiar excellencies.

1807. In the beginning of this year, our minister took a journey into the midland counties. The friends at Hinckley had erected a spacious meeting-house, and wished to enjoy his assistance at the opening of it. In compliance with their invitation, he set out for Leicester, Feb. 16, where he attended

conference the following day; and preached from *1 Tim.* iv. 7, 8. The next day he proceeded to Hinckley; and delivered a discourse, at the opening of the new building, from *Exod.* xx. 24; Mr. R. Hall, of Leicester, preached in the morning; and Mr. B. Pollard, in the evening.

June 24, he preached at the Association at Nottingham, from *Rev.* ii. 10. He spent the following Lord's day with the friends in that town, and, visiting several of the churches on his way, reached London on the Friday afternoon. "Through mercy," he observes, "I found my family and friends all well. O Lord, how often have I been thus favoured for more than forty years! Blessed be thy holy name! O that my few remaining years or days may be spent for thy glory, with more humility, zeal and diligence than any of my past years."

1808. The church over which Mr. T. presided was, in the beginning of this year, much distracted by intestine commotions. The conduct of one of the members who had been a leading person for some time, was not so circumspect as might have been desired. Being deeply engaged in trade, and disposed too much to speculate, he was sometimes tempted or driven to expedients which some thought inconsistent with the honour of religion. Several conscientious members of the society felt dissatisfied at his conduct; and their dissatisfaction was fomented by some, who were probably not solely actuated by a regard to the good of the cause. The pastor unhappily took a decided part with the discontented. Unacquainted as he was with the intricacies and difficulties of business, and rigid in his attachment to integrity and uprightness, it was easy to lead his unsuspecting mind to disapprove of many things which others, more acquainted with affairs and less scrupulous, might regard as venial transgressions, or necessary evils. The part which the minister took had the natural effect of irritating some of the opposite party. After frequent and painful discussions, the matter was determined by a vote, which acquitted the party accused of censure. The baneful effects of these altercations continued for a long time to injure the church; and prepared the way for much future dissatisfaction.

June 27, Mr. T. attended the Association at Bourn, Lincolnshire, and preached from *Acts* vi. 17—19. He was obliged

to hasten home, on account of a severe boil on his back, which soon became a large and dangerous abscess. He was confined to his house for six weeks; and for some time his life appeared in great danger; but, by the divine blessing on the means used, he at length recovered, though very slowly. Much affectionate concern was manifested by the church, when his danger was known, and notwithstanding the late contentions, it was unanimously resolved, July 11, "to hold a weekly prayer-meeting for the purpose of offering up united prayers for his recovery and the prosperity of the church."—Aug. 26, he gave this account of himself to his friend Mr. B. "You have laid me under strong obligations by so earnestly soliciting me to give you an account of the state of my health. To refuse you this gratification would be unworthy of me; though I have neither time nor strength to write much, and am employed in the like instances of love and duty to many of my friends. I can never pretend that a life of so little use, and now almost worn out, deserves so much anxiety as my friends manifest for its preservation. It was a great mercy for myself, my family and my friends, that I resolved to come home when I did. I have been favoured with one of the first surgeons in London; and he has throughout treated me with all the care, punctuality and tenderness that a parent could desire or expect from his own son. My abscess is nearly healed, and I get strength, though but slowly. I suppose the blood does not flow, nor the spirits circulate now at seventy as they did at thirty. I have been six Lord's days out of the pulpit; but I ventured to drop a short discourse the last Lord's day morning. I much desire to preach twice the next Lord's day; but whether it will be prudent I cannot tell. Almost every thing fatigues me: indeed to live so long upon mere vegetables, with so little sleep and so copious a discharge, must be felt. My appetite improves a little, though very gradually. On the whole, I praise our heavenly Father; and sincerely desire, that, ~~that~~ if my life be continued a little longer, it may be devoted to him who died for me."

In perfect conformity to the sentiment expressed in the conclusion of this extract, was the text which he chose when he first ascended the pulpit after this indisposition. It was *Phil. 1. 20*, "Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." His wish to preach twice on the ensuing sabbath

was disappointed; he was only able to address his friends once, from 2Cor.vi. 10: "As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing." These subjects exhibit a true view of the state of his mind: tranquil and ready to quit the world; but desirous that if he lived, he might be devoted with increasing diligence to the service of his Saviour. Though still feeble, he attended the London Conference at Chatham, Sept. 14, and preached from *Heb.* x. 25; but it was not till Oct. 16, that he ventured to preach thrice on the Lord's day. On this occasion, he observes: "Through mercy, I got through the work with moderate ease: blessed be the name of the Lord! Help me, heavenly Father, to lay out myself and all my powers for thee to the end of my life."

1809. This was a year of great labour and heavy affliction to the worthy subject of these Memoirs. Though now advanced in years and surrounded with domestic trials, he was as zealous as ever in his exertions to promote the cause of his Redeemer. The ancient General Baptist church in the Borough of Southwark, which he had some years before been the means of preserving from extinction, was again reduced to a very low state. Having lost their meeting-house through the neglect of the trustees, the few members had met, for several years, in a small outhouse fitted up for a temporary place of worship. Early in this year, they were obliged to leave this situation, and driven to the necessity of assembling for social devotion in a room belonging to one of their dwelling houses. To increase their embarrassments, their minister changed his sentiments and left them at Lady-day. Thus destitute of a meeting-house and a minister, the cause seemed hastening to dissolution. At this critical moment, Mr. T. stept forwards, and exerted himself to prevent the few remaining friends from being scattered: preaching frequently for them himself, and encouraging his students to supply them. Not content with this, he determined to attempt to provide them a meeting-house. In conjunction with two or three other friends, he hired a piece of ground, and erected a plain but substantial building, in Great Suffolk Street. The first stone was laid, July 27; when he delivered an oration from *Psalm xc. 17*, "Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea the work of our hands establish thou it." In order to raise the

necessary funds, he went, accompanied with one or other of his friends, round London; and being highly respected by the professors of different denominations, obtained a considerable sum. The building was opened, Oct. 9; when his friends, the Rev. W. B. Collyer, D. D. and the Rev. J. Hughes, M. A. favoured him with their assistance and countenance; each delivering a suitable discourse, while Mr. T. contented himself with the humbler service of giving out the hymns. On the following Lord's day, he preached in this new building from those appropriate words of the prophet Samuel to the Israelites, "Only fear the Lord and serve him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things he hath done for you." 1 Sam. xii. 24.

But during these public exertions he was subjected to very heavy domestic trials. While he was attending the Association at Quorndon, one of his daughters, for whom he had a particular regard, died, and on his return, he was called to perform the mournful duty of preaching her funeral sermon; which he did July 2, from Rev. x. 4—13. His wife also exhibited soon afterwards symptoms of indisposition which excited his fears; but favourable appearances succeeding, in some measure dissipated them. Aug. 28, he addresses Mr. Fr—n thus: "I hope you still enjoy the summit of human happiness, *Mens sana in corpore sano.** May this blessing be continued to you! I think, through divine mercy, I and my family are again looking up, and rising above the family trials we have lately had. Blessed be our heavenly Father! Lord, make us more humble and holy, wise and happy." But these hopes were delusive: in a short time, Mrs. T.'s complaints returned with renewed violence; and on Oct. 14, she expired. She was interred on the 20th, when Rev. Mr. Kello, of Bethnal Green, spoke at the grave; and on the Lord's day following, Mr. Austin, of Fetter Lane, improved the solemn event at Church Lane, from John iii. 28, 29. In his Diary, he styles this "a long dark week;" and Nov. 16, writes thus to his friend Mr. Fr—n: "You have heard of the breach which it has pleased our heavenly Father to make in my family, by the death of my late dear and very valuable wife. A breach like this, I think, all things considered, cannot be repaired, in the present world; though our God and Father knows

* A sound mind in a healthful body.

how to supply, support and render it beneficial in various other respects. In some measure I wish to be wholly resigned to his righteous will, and work. A wife of so much good nature, so much suited to the circumstances of my family, who has been an unspeakable blessing to myself, my numerous family, and to the church for more than fifteen years, cannot be lost without painful sensations. But the Lord is good, and I am called upon, instead of murmuring, to bless his holy name for such domestic comfort so long continued. Pray for me."

But his private afflictions did not cause him to neglect his public duties, or to withdraw from engagements which appeared to him important. On the second day after the death of his valued partner, he preached in the new meeting-house in Great Suffolk Street, and administered the Lord's supper to the few friends at that place. In a week afterwards, he set out on a journey to Lincolnshire, to collect for the building; and, after preaching and begging at St. Ives, March, Wisbeach, Fleet, Suterton, and Boston, he returned Nov. 11, to his own people. On Christmas day, after preaching to his own friends, he set out again with the same object, to visit the churches in Leicestershire. How anxious he was to promote this object, and desirous of filling up his time to the best advantage, appears from the letter to Mr. F. already quoted. "I have been a journey," he says, "among five of our churches in Lincolnshire, and Fleet church, collecting for Suffolk Street meeting-house. I think I succeeded pretty well, all things considered. I am also encouraged to visit, at Christmas, our friends at Loughborough, Quorndon, Rothley, and Leicester. I wish we could find another to fill up the time of that journey. Could H—y thus gratify us? I leave it with you: I push nothing; but shall thankfully acknowledge every favour. I can only be out one Lord's day, and spend that at Rothley, Quorndon, and Loughborough; but could spend perhaps two days and three nights at and about H—y, if admitted. Shall much thank you for a speedy answer."

This year our author appeared, for the last time, in the field of controversy, in defence of the dignity of his great Master. Mr. Davies, of Belper, in Derbyshire, had preached a sermon to the Unitarians of that place, on Christmas-day, 1808, to disprove the miraculous conception of our Saviour; and, at the

request of the hearers, had printed it, under the title of "Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph." The chief merit of this discourse consisted in boldness of assertion and an arrogant assumption of superior wisdom and discernment. It excited, however, some attention in the neighbourhood, and awakened the fears of the friends of the gospel. Several thought it required an answer, and united in requesting Mr. T. to undertake the task; offering, we believe, to indemnify him from the expence of publication. For some time he declined the engagement, through a persuasion that the sermon neither required nor deserved an answer. But when he had been more fully informed of the local circumstances, he consented; and soon after published a reply, which he intitled, "Jesus, the only begotten Son of God." This tract is comprised in seven Letters to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, by whose influence principally he had been induced to publish it; and animadverts closely on Mr. D.'s discourse. It contains much good sense, and many interesting facts; and, when we consider the age of the author, his many avocations, and his domestic afflictions, does great credit to his abilities and piety. But the extreme weakness and superficial nature of the piece to which he replied, prevented him from making the answer as excellent and convincing as it doubtless would have been, had he been engaged with a more able adversary. With this work he took leave of controversy, in which he appears, on this occasion, to have very unwillingly engaged. "Controversy;" he says, "never was, I can truly pronounce it, agreeable to my disposition, and less so now in advanced life. If it please my heavenly Father, it will be most happy to employ the whole of my few remaining days in contemplating the glories of a future world, which ought to be now particularly kept in prospect. But if it appear necessary to engage again in the disagreeable employment of disputation, I would say, 'the will of the Lord be done.'"

At the Association this year, Mr. T. produced a circular letter "on Covetousness," which at the request of a former meeting he had prepared. This was read, approved and ordered to be printed with the Minutes. By some accident, it was lost before publication, and therefore never appeared. This was the last engagement of this nature which he undertook. After having been the usual author of these addresses from the first

formation of the New Connection, he now gave way to others; of whom the majority owed their qualifications for the work to his instructions.

1810. This was a season of great darkness in the church over which Mr. T. presided. The Report to the Association, which assembled in London, June 26, ran in these gloomy strains: "This has been a year of severe trials. Roots of bitterness springing up amongst us have troubled us: so much so that christian love and peace appear, in a great measure, to have fled; and dissatisfaction and disunion too much prevail." The baneful effects of this state of things were painfully apparent in the decline of the hearers, and the want of zeal in the members. So low indeed was the cause sunk, that it was found necessary, or at least it was thought necessary, to diminish the income of the pastor, by at least one-third part.

His zeal, however, for the prosperity of the connection with which he stood united, suffered no abatement from his private difficulties. Being obliged to quit the house in which he had resided for some time, and not readily meeting with another which he thought suitable for the accommodation of the students, he determined, contrary to the advice of most of his friends, to build a house, for this purpose, in Purim Place. In this undertaking, he not only sunk what little property he possessed, but involved himself in debts, which the continued decrease of his income prevented him from discharging. In order to meet these demands, he was induced to dispose of the greatest part of his large and valuable library, on most disadvantageous terms. But even this sacrifice, painful as it must have been to a mind so devoted to reading, was insufficient; and after several years' struggle, he was obliged to sell the house itself, at a great loss. Indeed, such had been the depression in the value of property, that it produced little more than a sufficiency to liquidate the debts which remained upon it.

Towards the close of this year he went into Yorkshire, to collect for Suffolk-Street meeting-house, and to assist at the setting apart of his nephew, Mr. James Taylor, to the pastoral office over the newly formed church at Hepstonstall Slack. In the prospect of this excursion, we find him laying his plans with all the alacrity of youth. "I thank you," he observes to his

nephew, Sept. 14, “for so far interesting yourself in behalf of our few poor friends in Great Suffolk Street, and your friends in Yorkshire for kindly taking up their case. May you and they ever prosper! At last I have concluded on the plan of my journey, God willing. I am confined at home till the 14th Oct. because our Lord’s Supper is on that day. I hope therefore to set out on the morning of the 15th, and be at Queens-head on the 17th; at Halifax, on the 18th; to preach at Queenshead and Halifax, on Lord’s day, the 21st; to be at Birchcliff, on the 22d; Slack, on the 23d; Shore, 24th; Burnley, 25th; at Birchcliff and Slack, on Lord’s day, 28th; to stop in that neighbourhood till the 31st in the morning, and then set off for home. If I can be at any place in the mean time, or on any of the vacant days and be wanted, I am willing to do all I can. I would wish my journey and plan to be made known to my dear friend, Mr. Fawcett, that if he and his people should, as usual, wish me to preach in their place on Lord’s day, the 28th, I may do it. All else I leave to your arrangement. May all our separate and social endeavours be for the glory of our Saviour’s great name!”

About this time, he appears to have busily engaged in offices of kindness for his country friends, which his increasing years rendered more burdensome to him than they had formerly been. Persons in the country, having seldom very adequate ideas of the extent of London or the engagements of its inhabitants, often intrude, by their commissions, on the time and temper of their friends in town much more than they suspect. This appears to have been the case with Mr. T. In a letter to Mr. Fr—n, dated Dec. 18, 1810, he observes, “I am almost worn down with writing and other labours for my friends. But, I trust, I experience something of the luxury of doing good, though I am daily sensible that I have been and still am an unprofitable servant, and wish to live a life of unfeigned penitence in the consideration of it. Were my heart more impressed with the love of Christ, my obedience and zeal would be less interrupted and more spiritual.”

1811. On March 24th, Mr. T. married his third wife, Mary Toplis, the widow of one of his deacons. The disparity in age and several other circumstances connected with this

union, gave great offence to many. Though there is every reason to believe that he acted from principles of conscience, and did what he thought right in the sight of God, yet his best friends considered this connection as very imprudent. Many of the members of the church were decidedly averse to it, and the general discontent was heightened by some of his nearest relatives. Meetings were held to examine particulars, and if possible to accommodate matters previous to the marriage; but nothing could be effected. An attempt was made to dismiss him from the pastoral office; but, on a personal appeal, more than two-thirds of the members voted for his continuance with them. In consequence of this decision, the most disaffected, to the number of about thirty, withdrew from the church and left it in a state of weakness and disunion, from which it has not yet wholly recovered.

Yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, this zealous minister was still anxious for the prosperity of religion. In the spring of this year, he hired a room at Woolwich, and made an attempt by himself and his students to establish preaching in that town. The removal of the Academy and his own embarrassments prevented the success of this attempt, after he had spent much labour in it. He also continued to preach frequently at Suffolk Street, till February 13; when Mr. Preston was ordained to the pastoral office over that society, to whom he addressed a charge from *Prov. xxiii. 15. 16.*

1812. This year, Mr. T. was exercised with heavy domestic affliction. His daughter, Mrs. Smedley, of Downton, having been long indisposed, arrived in London in the latter part of June, in hopes that a change of air and situation might be of advantage to her health. She was affectionately received by her father, and every attention paid to her that her circumstances rendered necessary. But she continued to decline, and sunk into the arms of death, August 2, at four o'clock in the morning; "when" as her father observes to Mr. F—n, "I had sat up all night, and had to preach three times that same day. This to me was hard; but my consolation is that God does all things well; blessed be his name! I am happy in the persuasion, that she died in the Lord." On the following Lord's day, he improved the affecting event, from *2 Cor. xv. 57.* This stroke

made a deep impression on the mind of her venerable parent: and he frequently referred to it with great feeling.

Immediately after Mrs. Smedley's death, Mrs. T. began to decline. She continued to grow worse till Dec. 18; when she departed this life, and left him, a third time, a widower. At this advanced stage of life, this was a serious loss; and he deeply felt it. "The great Disposer of events," he observes, "has in this visitation seen it wise and good to exercise me with a great trial. My duty is to be still and know that he is God; to be dumb and not to open my mouth because he hath done it." To him be everlasting praise, Amen."

But other circumstances contributed, at this time, to increase Mr. T.'s anxiety. The Academy of which he had acted as Tutor from its commencement, was then managed, not by the association, but by the contributors to its support. There had always existed great objections to its being conducted in London; both on account of the danger to which it was supposed that the piety and morals of the students were exposed in the metropolis; and because of its distance from almost all the churches in the connection. Hitherto, respect for Mr. T.'s character and abilities, and the difficulties of finding any other person properly qualified to superintend such an institution, had induced most of the supporters to acquiesce in the situation; but the late changes in the domestic connections of the Tutor had been disapproved by several leading persons, and created a degree of dissatisfaction. The Committee of Management therefore judged it advisable to convene a general meeting of the subscribers, at Loughborough, July 29th, to consider of the state of the institution. This meeting appears to have been "well attended, and it was unanimously agreed to request Mr. T. to consider the practicability of his removal into some central situation in the country, where he might more effectually serve the interests of the Academy as its Tutor."

This request appears to have been unexpected by Mr. T. and to have caused him much anxious deliberation. He was attached to London on many accounts; and at his age, it was not pleasant to break old connections and form new ones. But as he observed, when soliciting Mr. B.'s advice on this subject, Aug. 9, 1812, "To serve the cause in which I am engaged, and the connection in which I stand, I have long considered as my

second concern in this life." Though he could not therefore be ignorant that prejudices had gone abroad which had probably occasioned this inquiry, he appears to have laid aside all other feelings, except a desire to be useful to that interest to which he had devoted his life: and after consulting with his friends, and earnestly seeking divine direction, he addressed the committee thus: "If such removal on due consideration appear eligible, prudent and necessary, I see nothing that can render it impracticable. And to prevent unnecessary hesitation on your part, I beg leave to add, that, though I hope I may venture to say without boasting, that I have made some sacrifices to serve the General Baptist interest for fifty-one years past, and this removal will be a sacrifice incomparably greater than any of the former, yet if the way appear open, and the removal necessary, I am not disposed to decline it. I wish to spend my all, as I trust I have ever done, in the best of causes."

"In the mean time, it must surely occur to your mind, that a concern of such magnitude, and so complicated, must of necessity be a work of time. To find, with general satisfaction this central situation—a suitable house in that situation—to fit up, and furnish that house for the purpose—to set a suitable Tutor at liberty from his pastoral charge at home—to remove him at a convenient time and in a convenient manner—to insure him a sufficient living—to make the terms of his services mutually agreeable, &c. These things certainly require time and no small degree of consultation and deliberation. But, when they are done, should I be then living and healthy, and should you and the connection approve, wish and advise my removal, I intend not to make any objection."

After some time the Committee met to deliberate on this answer, and resolved that "having considered the statement contained in Mr. Taylor's letter, it does not appear proper for us to encourage his removal into the country." As therefore it had been determined, at the former meeting, that the Academy could not be supported in London, Mr. T.'s engagement as Tutor terminated of course. His salary was continued to the following Midsummer, and "the very sincere thanks of the meeting were voted to him for his past, useful and faithful services." The operations of the Academy continued suspended till the ensuing association.

Mr. T. appears to have taken only two journeys this year. In May, he was invited to set in order a number of professors, who had embraced the General Baptist principles and built themselves a meeting-house, at Ipswich, in Suffolk. On the 27th, he opened the new building with a discourse from *Isaiah* ii. 3. On the following day, Mr. Jackson was ordained pastor over this infant society, when Mr. T. delivered a charge to him from *Acts* xx. 24. In the evening, he addressed several brethren who were then set apart to the office of deacons, from *1 Pet.* iv. 11. June 20th, he presided at the Association at Wisbeach, and preached from *Amos* iii. 3. After the close of the Association, he visited several of the churches and reached home July 1.

1813. Mr. T. attended the Association at Birmingham, June 22. On that day, he assisted at the ordination of Mr. G. Cheatle, to the pastoral office over the church in that town, to whom he delivered a charge from *Heb.* xiii. 17. On the following day, he preached before the Association, from *Phil.* ii. 16, and reached London again July 3.

At the Association, the supporters of the Academy resigned the management of that institution into the hands of the Association. Various resolutions were adopted respecting its object, and the method of conducting it. The question naturally occurred who should be the Tutor on the new constitution. Several were zealous for the re-appointment of the former one; but most of Mr. T.'s best friends, when they considered his advanced age, the evident decline of his intellectual faculties, and his peculiar domestic circumstances, a widower seventy-five years of age, were constrained to admit the impropriety of incumbering him with an office, to the duties of which he was every day becoming less competent, and which he would probably be soon compelled by incapacity to relinquish. The meeting therefore adopted unanimously the following resolution, which was ordered to be printed in the Minutes. "The Association, having a deep sense of the valuable services rendered by the late venerable Tutor to the Connection; his known attachment to the great principles which distinguish this body from other denominations; and his long, useful and important labours in the cause, would have been happy to have re-elected him to the

office : but considering his very advanced age, the natural decays of constitution and intellect, and his domestic circumstances, they feel themselves obliged to look for a younger man." Thus honourably was he dismissed from the service of an institution which he had laboured long and earnestly to establish, and had conducted with diligence, fidelity and success, for fifteen years.

Soon after his return from the Association, he was affected with a dangerous indisposition, which laid him aside from his ministerial duties for more than a month. Sept. 12, he thus writes: " After a month's severe illness, I administered the Lord's supper yesterday. Blessed be God! Lord, if it please thee, continue my recovery and increase my strength. Mercifully quicken my soul and enable me still to be more useful to the souls of men, and more diligent, wise and zealous in the advancement of thy blessed cause." His strength, however, returned but slowly, and he was advised to retire for a time into the country. He fixed on St. Ives, and wrote to his friend Mr. Birley, who cordially invited him to his house. But finding himself improve faster than he expected, he replied thus, Oct. 25: " I received both your kind letters, and thank you for them. Several other friends have kindly invited me into the country ; but on account of the season of the year—the expences of travelling—the necessity for my being at home—and the good degree to which my health and strength are restored, I have almost concluded to continue at home. My disorder was said, by my physician, to be an inflammation in the bowels, attended with a typhus fever ; so that, he tells me since, I was as near death as I could be. Blessed be God ! I have twice preached three times on the Lord's day ; and hope I am doing well and getting strength every week."

1814. Strong as Mr. T.'s constitution naturally was, it began at length to yield to the weight of years and the effects of incessant exertion. For some time, his intellectual powers had exhibited symptoms of decreasing vigour, and now his bodily strength gave way, and he became more susceptible of the attacks of disease. He was twice confined by indisposition during the course of this year: once, for three weeks, in March ; and again, for ten days, towards Christmas. Dec. 17, he writes to his nephew, James Taylor : " I myself am but poorly. I have

long laboured under the weight of a most violent cold; but through mercy, I think I am getting better rather than worse. Lord, help us to employ our hours and days and years to the honour of him who gives them. I am very feeble and tired; but rejoicing in hopes of a better world."

The Association this year was at Birchcliff, and he seized with pleasure the opportunity of visiting his former friends. As both parties, when they considered his age, apprehended that this might probably be their last interview, it was peculiarly interesting and affectionate. Every one was anxious to obtain a discourse from him. Besides preaching at Queenshead, at Halifax and Heptonstall-slack, and giving a charge to several deacons, at whose ordination, he assisted at Birchcliff; he preached for his friend Dr. Fawcett, at Hebden Bridge, and for the Independents and Methodists at Halifax. On all these occasions, the congregations were crowded, and the people anxiously eager to pay a last token of respect to this highly esteemed minister. Though he spent only twelve days in Yorkshire, and was three days closely occupied with the business of the Association, he preached twelve times.

From Yorkshire, he proceeded to Birmingham, where he was engaged to preach on Lord's day, July 3, for the benefit of the Sunday school. He preached twice for this institution; and on the following day, addressed a missionary prayer meeting. On the 5th, he opened a large room for public worship at Burton-upon-Trent; and, on the 7th, he preached at Duffield. He spent Lord's day the 10th at Nottingham, and delivered three discourses. On Monday, he preached at Ilkiston; on Tuesday, at Smalley; on Wednesday, at Basford; and on Thursday at Leicester. The ensuing Lord's day, he was engaged twice at Leicester and once at Billesdon: and gave them another discourse, at the latter place, on the Monday following, and at the former, on the Tuesday. On the 20th, he set out for home; and arrived "safe and healthy" on the following day.

In Sept. following, he spent a fortnight in a journey to Wiltshire and the adjacent counties. His object probably was to collect for Suffolk Street meeting house; but all the notice we have of this excursion is the following laconic entry in his journal: "Sept. 19, 1814, set off on a long journey to Salisbury, Downton, Wilton, Bishopton, Blandford, Wareham, Poole,

Lyndhurst, Southampton, Titchfield, Gosport, and Portsea. Through divine mercy, I was thankfully and joyfully received every where; and I hope was the instrument of some good. Returned home on Oct. 6th in good health, and found all well. Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

Oct. 20, we find this active old man presiding at the London Conference, at Tring, in Hertfordshire; when he delivered a discourse, from 1 Cor. vi. 19.

1815. Jan. 6. Mr. T. in crossing his own room, caught the carpet with his foot; and, falling against a chair, broke one of his ribs. This accident, which to a person of his years might have been very serious, confined him till Feb. 5; when he was so far recovered as to resume his public labours. But he did not soon regain his usual health and spirits. April 8, he informs one correspondent, "I am rather feeble compared with what I have been. Thank God, I am as well as I can expect to be, now far advanced in my seventy-seventh year. Glory to God!" To another friend he observes, under the date of June 8th: "I have had rather a heavy winter of considerable indisposition; and, though I am much better, yet I am but feeble and soon tired with labour, of which I have plenty, even too much. However, let us not be weary of well-doing." Indeed he was not soon weary. He set out June 19th, for the Association at Nottingham; and returned July 7, "having preached," as he observes, "fifteen times, besides a great deal of hard labour of other kinds. Blessed and praised be the Lord."

1816. In the course of this year, the subject of this Memoir attended the London Conference at Chatham, April 17, and at Berkhamstead, Oct. 2; and the Annual Association at Boston, June 25th. At all these meetings he, as usual, presided and preached. At the last, he delivered an excellent discourse from John i. 12. and was appointed the first preacher at the following Association. In this journey, he preached twelve times, besides attending many other important concerns. At the London Conference, in Oct. he was requested to write a letter on the importance of reading the Scriptures, which was to be produced at the next Conference, at Wrotham, in Easter week, 1817; when also he was appointed to preach. At that time, a con-

siderable attention to the distinguishing truths of the gospel had been excited in some of the old General Baptist churches in Kent; and Mr. T. was earnestly invited to pay them a visit in order to strengthen their hands. The Conference unanimously solicited him to accept of this invitation; being well persuaded that his presence would have happy effects. He yielded to these solicitations; and proposed taking the journey as early as possible in the ensuing year.

Nor did he, even at this advanced age, confine his exertions to his own denomination, or his own countrymen. About this period, the Protestants in the south of France became the objects of a violent persecution from their popish countrymen. How far political motives might operate in producing the outrages which were committed is not easy to determine; but it was represented as a persecution for religion. The sufferings of the unhappy protestants in France excited the sympathy of their brethren in England. Their cause was taken up by several popular societies; and the general body of dissenting ministers in and near London distinguished themselves by their generous zeal, in adopting means to stop the cruelties and injustice which the French government wanted either the will or the power to prevent. Appeals were made to the British cabinet at home, and to our ambassadors at foreign courts. Subscriptions were opened and a considerable sum collected. In all these measures, Mr. T. concurred with his usual decision and earnestness; and repeatedly brought the subject before his church. A general meeting of all the London ministers being summoned, on Nov. 21, 1816, to deliberate on the most eligible means of effecting their benevolent purposes, he was called to the chair. This was his last public service: in five days afterwards, he rested from his labours.—But before we proceed to the closing scene, it may be proper to take a glance at the state of the church and his domestic circumstances.

After the separation in 1811, though the cause was very low, yet the church enjoyed more peace and unanimity than had been experienced for many preceding years. More attention was paid to prayer meetings, and several of the members appeared earnest in promoting vital religion, both in themselves and their brethren. Various additions were, from time to time, made to the society; and it was thought that some symptoms of a revival

might be discovered. But when the pastor returned from the Association this year, a person called upon him, who, after he had long been a travelling preacher for the Methodists, had lost his situation amongst them, on account of some embarrassments in his pecuniary affairs. He was now unemployed, and requested Mr. T.'s advice as to his future proceedings. With an unsuspicuousness natural to his character, Mr. T. invited this stranger to preach for him, and lent him some tracts in defence of believers' baptism. In a few days, the tracts had the desired effect, and the Methodist professed himself a Baptist: praising God for directing him to so wise and pious an instructor, who had been the instrument of imparting new and important light to his understanding. Mr. T. honest and undesigning himself, was slow at suspecting others, even in his most vigorous days; and, at the age of seventy-eight, it was not to be expected that his penetration should be improved. He also was too sincerely attached to his peculiar principles to be indifferent to the acquisition of a proselyte who might be useful in propagating those principles. He therefore cordially received this new convert, employed him frequently to preach for him, and began to form schemes for turning his labours to the greatest advantage. The convert adopted a warm and zealous mode of address: and though his public discourses were little distinguished by coherency and perspicuity, yet they pleased many of the hearers by their warmth and apparent affection. For some time, Mr. T. sincerely rejoiced in the success of his newly acquired friend; and hoped that he might be the instrument of infusing a degree of life and zeal into the members and congregation. But, when the stranger proposed himself a candidate for fellowship, and his circumstances were examined, the aged pastor, who had never before properly understood them, though no disguise had been attempted, discovered that he was acting, as he thought, inconsistent with the character of a christian. The fact was, that the candidate had a wife and family dependant for support on her relatives, and he refused to do any thing except preach towards their maintenance. Mr. T. judged this to be inconsistent with his duty as a husband and father; and therefore, though a large majority of the members approved of receiving the candidate, he dissented, and declined to administer the ordinance of baptism to him. This produced a great sensation and warm

contentions. At length, it was agreed that another minister should be requested to baptize the candidate. This was done with Mr. T.'s consent, and the time was fixed; but he had not the mortification of living to witness the event.

A little business now hurried him, and he had too many engagements. He tells his friend B. June 17, 1816. "The truth is, I am weary with writing, and my movements are now but slow comparatively. My poor labours, especially in writing and preaching are many. I think I never was so much crowded with business; yet, if you think it will gratify your friends, I intend to spend with you the 7th of July: and if my poor labours are worth their acceptance, I am willing to say and do what I can on that day." But, besides being distracted with too many avocations, his home was not comfortable. Sometime after the death of his third wife, he had sold his house, and hired apartments. One of his grand-daughters lived with him, and took care of his domestic concerns: all his children having settled and left him. This year his grand-daughter married, and he was left destitute. As he had a strong repugnance to a house-keeper, and could not submit to have any woman dwell with him who was not his wife, he was advised to board in some respectable family. He had, however, been so long accustomed to have a house of his own, that this proposal was not agreeable to his feelings; and none of his friends could point out a respectable family that were able to receive him. In these circumstances, he was almost compelled to look out for a suitable companion, who might take care of his last days. He fixed on Mrs. S. Saunders, a widow, who had been more than forty years an honourable member of his church; and, with the full approbation of all his friends, was married to her, October 21, 1816. He had previously removed into more convenient apartments; and, it was hoped, that he would be more comfortable and better accommodated than he had been for some years.

For a few weeks after his marriage he appeared in good health and spirits; but the unhappy contentions which then distracted the church evidently affected deeply his mind. About the middle of November, he felt the symptoms of indisposition, and concluded that he had contracted a cold. On Thursday, the 21st of that month, after attending a meeting of the London Dissenting Ministers, at Dr. Williams's Library, Redcross-

Street, he was so much indisposed as to be unable to deliver the usual exhortation in his own place; and, on the following day, could not officiate at the interment of a respected member of his church. On the Lord's day following, he was better; and, in the afternoon, preached the funeral sermon for his deceased friend, from *Heb.* iv. 9, "There remaineth a rest for the people of God:" and it was observed by many who heard it, that it was a peculiarly affectionate, solemn and faithful discourse. In the evening of the same day, he delivered an animated address, at the meeting-house in Mile-End, from *Rom.* vi. 23, "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." On the preceding Tuesday evening, he had addressed to his own people, an affectionate exhortation, from *1 John* iv. 9—11, "In this was manifest the love of God towards us," &c.: and proposed to finish his observations on this edifying and comprehensive passage on the following Tuesday.

On the Monday, he walked into the Borough and took tea with some friends in Tooley-Street. He set out on foot to return; but feeling fatigued he took a coach part of the distance. During the succeeding night, he was restless; and towards the morning complained of a pain between the shoulders. His son was sent for; and in a few hours the pain abated. In the forenoon, one of his daughters called in to see him, and enquired how he was. "I have been very poorly," he replied; "but am now easier. I thought I was near death; and, on my own account, felt no reluctance to depart: but for your sake and some others, I am willing to live." He ate his dinner with apparent relish; and after taking his pipe, laid down again, desiring to be called up to tea. After several hours of comfortable sleep, he rose, dressed himself and walked into the parlour. In doing this, he exhibited much weakness, but, with his usual spirit, refused to be assisted. He seemed in a good measure free from pain; and appeared very composed. On being asked what he would have to tea, he said, "Make me a little thin bread and butter, such as you know I like." While this was preparing, he sat down, took his pipe, and began to read a paper which he took from the table. In a short time, he put his hand to his breast, as if he felt something. His daughter enquired, "Do you feel any pain, father?" "Not much," he observed, "only an

aching under my breast." No sooner, however, had he uttered these words, than his pipe dropped on the floor, he shut his eyes and mouth in the most tranquil manner, and, without the smallest sigh or groan, instantly expired. Thus peacefully did this veteran, in his Master's service, lay aside his armour; and, in a moment, enter into that rest which is prepared for the people of God; and, almost at the very hour when he had purposed to excite the sacred affections of his hearers from that awakening and conclusive argument, "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another," was he called to experience the full effects of that love.

It might have been gratifying to survivors, had this good man been permitted in the near and apparent prospect of eternity, to have exemplified the depth of his humility, the strength of his faith, and the patience of hope; and to have borne his dying testimony to the great truths which he had so diligently recommended to others. This gratification the great Disposer of all events has thought fit to deny us. But we are not left ignorant of the state of his mind and the object of his meditations, during the concluding days of his life. His last thoughts, in the view of preparing for the pulpit, were probably employed on the grand account which all must give at the great day of final decision; for he had noted down in his journal, as the subject of a discourse at Mile End, on the day succeeding his decease, that awakening exhortation of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iv. 5: "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of God." While considering this awful passage, under the conviction of the truth which he had discussed, in the same place, only two days before, that "the wages of sin is death," he naturally turned his thoughts to the only means by which a guilty creature can escape the infinitely dreadful effects of his sin. And we have seen that the interesting subjects of his last public addresses were—"the rest that remaineth for the people of God"—"eternal life, the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord"—and the astonishing love of God "in sending his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." On this propitiation, which probably employed his last thoughts on earth, he had long placed all his hopes of acceptance with God; and towards the close of his

life had frequently expressed to the writer of these pages, and to others, his firm persuasion that, through faith in this Saviour, he had obtained the remission of sins. The remark which he made to his daughter, on the morning of his decease, he had often repeated, that as far as respected himself he was ready for death, and not afraid to meet it; but that there were circumstances in his family, the church and the connection, which made him desire, if consistent with the will of his heavenly Father, to continue a short time in the flesh. But for some months before his removal, even this wish seemed to have been almost suppressed, and he considered himself as having, in a great measure, finished his work on earth. He appeared to take little interest in some important transactions respecting the New Connection, which were then depending; and when they were mentioned to him, would reply, "You must do as you please: I shall soon leave you." The contentions in the church, at this time affected him greatly; yet when conscience permitted, he left these, much as he was interested in them, to the management of others.

After his decease, his relatives found a Will, in which among other injunctions was this; "I solemnly charge it upon my executors that every thing respecting my interment be conducted with the strictest economy and as little expence as possible, consistent with decency; particularly that there be no hearse, no coach, no escutcheon, on that occasion." As he had expressed a wish that his remains might be deposited in Bunhill Fields burying ground, and his executors were desirous of complying with this intimation, the injunction in the will subjected them to some difficulty. Mr. T. had been highly respected by his brethren the dissenting ministers in London, and it would have given much pleasure to his family, could they have invited some of his more intimate friends amongst them, to attend his funeral; but as the distance was too great to ask them to walk, and coaches were thus prohibited, they were compelled to deny themselves that satisfaction. The church over which he had so long presided, on the members of which the suddenness of his departure had made a deep impression, took up the subject: a special church meeting having been called by the deacons, it was resolved,—that Mr. R. Smith, of Nottingham, should be invited to preach the funeral sermon for their late respected

pastor—that the pulpit, desks and galleries should be hung in black—and that a hearse and six mourning coaches should be provided to attend the funeral. The last resolution was communicated to the family of the deceased, but after much deliberation, they informed the church, that, in obedience to the will of their honoured parent, they felt themselves obliged to decline the kind and generous proposal.

In consequence of this determination, on Dec. 5th, the mortal remains of this aged minister were carried without any pomp, from Mile End to Bunhill Fields; preceded by the Rev. Mr. Kello, independent minister, of Bethnal Green, and Mr. Hoe, of Wimeswould, Leicestershire; and followed by the relatives and the officers of the church. When arrived at the place of interment, Mr. Kello, who had for many years been intimately acquainted with the deceased, delivered an oration over the grave, in which he paid an affectionate tribute of respect to the piety, humility and activity of his departed friend.

Dec. 15th, Mr. R. Smith preached his funeral sermon, at the meeting house in Church Lane. He read as the foundation of his discourse, Paul's declaration respecting himself, *2 Tim.* iv. 6—8. “I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.” From these words, the preacher, though labouring under great bodily weakness, drew a striking parallel between the past experience and future prospects of the great Apostle of the Gentiles and those of his deceased friend. The service was affectingly solemn and impressive, and the congregation extremely numerous; that large place of worship being crowded to excess.

The death of a minister who had been so long and so actively employed in the service of their common Master, naturally excited great attention among professors in general, and especially amongst those of his own denomination. Many of the dissenting ministers in London, and in various other places, took public notice of the event, in terms strongly expressive of esteem for the character, and affection for the memory of their departed brother. And, in the New Connection of General Baptists, which owed its formation and prosperity in a great

degree, to his exertions, his removal was felt and acknowledged to be a common loss. Most of the ministers of that Connection, if not all, paid a tribute of respect to their esteemed fellow-labourer, by preaching funeral sermons on the occasion of his decease: in which they bore such a testimony to his virtues, abilities and labours, as fully shewed a strong conviction that a great man had fallen in their Israel.

SECTION II. *Extracts from the Correspondence and unpublished Manuscripts of Mr. D. Taylor, written after his removal to London: intended to exhibit his Views, Pursuits and Dispositions, during the last Period of his Life.*

As Mr. T.'s engagements after he left Yorkshire increased in number and importance, it was less likely that he should command leisure to keep a regular Diary; but many of his letters, &c. have been preserved. They abundantly prove that his piety towards God, his zeal for his glory, and his love to the souls of his fellow creatures, suffered no abatement even in his most advanced age. It is hoped, that these Extracts, besides illustrating the writer's character, will afford useful hints of encouragement, instruction, or correction to every attentive reader, but especially to ministers of the gospel and pastors of churches. These unadorned expositions of the undisguised sentiments of the subject of this Memoir will also properly introduce a short Review of his Character, with which this volume will close.

I. TO MRS. M—, *a distant member of his church.*

Turville Street, Aug. 19, 1787.

“ Dear Sister,

“ I catch a flying moment to inform you, that, I trust, you are comfortable in body and soul; that you love your situation and your good husband; and, above all, that you keep near to your everlasting husband, Christ Jesus. May his presence make every situation and every scene comfortable to you here; and may you daily live in the delightful prospect of the everlasting enjoyment of him in glory!”

"Amidst the busy scenes of mortality, the heart is ready to be drawn aside by various objects. Often examine if you find nothing of this by experience; and let it be an admonition to be watchful, and 'to keep your heart with all diligence.' Wherever we are, Christ is the all in all of real happiness. Let us always consider him such, and as such, live upon him and keep near to him."

"In every state there are trials and enemies. In every state therefore faith and patience, watchfulness and diligence are necessary. Happy will that servant be who is found so doing when his Lord comes! Time flies apace; and the bridegroom's voice will soon be heard!"

2. TO MR. B.

"Turville Street, April 30, 1788.

"Dear Sir,

"Your's came to hand, in Mrs. Cooper's parcel, I hope to receive the pamphlets to day, or to morrow. They are much wanted. May the blessing of God accompany the reading of them! Thanks for poor Mr. Scott's Hymns. This age is peculiar for extraordinaries; and Mr. Scott's performance in this view, may perhaps be well-timed. But can rational men approve of it? You will receive it with Newton, Mayo, &c. with this parcel."

"As to Newton and Mayo, all the time I was reading them, I was pestered with the verdict which the old sinner at Rome was pleased to deliver respecting the question which then was agitated between Fenelon and Bossuet, respecting faith and love. You know that after the question was referred to his holiness, he took three years to deliberate upon it; and then, sage mortal as he was, he condescended to say 'Cambray had the better heart, but Meaux the better head.* But I will not positively say, that his present holiness would have determined precisely in the same manner respecting your two combatants.

"I went with Brother J. Deacon, to see Dr. Priestley at his own house at Birmingham. He is very free, plain and familiar. Our conversation was rather desultory. He was sweeping about the door of his mathematical chemical shop, or study, if you please, a separate room at some distance from his fine dwelling

* Fenelon was bishop of Cambray, and Bossuet of Meaux.

house, the situation of which is to me almost enchanting, about a mile out of Birmingham. I went up to him and said, ‘That’s condescension, Dr.’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied, ‘it is no more than duty. I always sweep about my own room myself. I have generally my check apron on, but happen to be without it this morning.’ Thus our conversation commenced. He invited us into his house; and at his request, I gave him the history of the dissenting interest in general, of the state of calvinism in England and of the Baptist interest, especially the General Baptist interest, so far as I could. With all this he seemed to be but very little acquainted; and to have formed very wrong notions of it, especially of the Baptists, and of the state of Calvinism. He seemed to hear with great pleasure, and expressed great satisfaction in receiving the information; wished he had known of our Association; and said if he had known he would have attended, &c. We drank a glass of wine with him and departed; having staid about an hour. He has not yet seen me at London. I am informed by one who heard him, that he preached last Lord’s day on Necessity, and established, or attempted to establish, his necessarian scheme, at Dr. Price’s meeting. We leave Dr. Priestley.”

“Thanks for your Epitome of Sykes on the Innocence of Error. I expect to read the work soon. My friend Marson has sent it, this week, to Mr. Robinson, as a present; and has another copy of it, which he has promised to lend me. I hope when you come to London, I can procure you the reading of it. I would not wish to controvert Dr. Sykes’s object with him, that ‘heresy is less destructive than a wicked life;’ because I know my incapacity to measure the enormity of errors and sins. That ‘no errors, if involuntary, are or can be punishable,’ though rather a vague expression, may, I think, in the gross, be allowed. But how far this can be applied to errors on subjects revealed, might perhaps be questioned. Is not every thing necessary to be known revealed with sufficient evidence? If not, the reflection will fall on the Author of revelation. If it be, can any one be necessarily ignorant who reads the Bible? If we are negligent, prejudiced, or inattentive, or dishonest, must not this be in some degree voluntary? If we admit or assert against evidence, or without evidence, is not this voluntary? May not, ought not every man to withhold his assent till full

evidence be produced? Can a man involuntarily assent to a fact or position without reason or evidence? And if he do, is it not a criminal disobedience to him who bids us ‘take heed that we be not deceived;’ ‘try all things;’ ‘search the scriptures?’ &c. &c. &c.”

“ It may, I think, be granted that ‘in mere perception the mind is passive;’ but that does not prove the innocence of error; unless it can be also proved that nothing is included in the belief of divine truth, but mere perception, which no philosopher will, I apprehend, assert. That the will is employed in viewing an object, in endeavours to see it in a just light, in resisting prejudices, in withholding assent, in assenting when full evidence appears, &c. &c. is what few will dispute. And if so there may certainly be criminality in error. He proceeds on the same unsafe ground, I venture to call it, in saying that ‘error is a mistake of judgment, and therefore must in its own nature be involuntary.’ For though the judgment is not the proper subject of command, threatening, &c. yet man, as possessed of will and affections, may use his judgment wrong. If not, it is to no purpose for the Author of our frame to bid us ‘judge righteous judgment.’ Besides, it were worth the Doctor’s while to consider the tendency of this argument; according to which, if I mistake not, if a man be an atheist, there is no harm in that; and to make God a liar is equally pleasing to him, as to treat him as the God of truth. That ‘wherever there is error there is guilt’ in matters of pure revelation, I make no scruple to admit: not only as a natural consequence of my sentiments, but as the doctrine of scripture. In the the third argument, the Doctor takes for granted what is not allowed him. It is not allowed that men ‘cannot but err’ in matters of revelation. Men can read positive declarations, in plain words; and withhold their assent where they have no positive testimony on which to ground it; and therefore there is no injustice or tyranny in the Divine Being, who does not require us to believe without evidence. Nor is the conclusion valid, as I apprehend, in his fourth argument; for it is no proof that ‘men shall perish everlastinglly,’ because they are to blame; unless no one shall be saved but he who is absolutely perfect both in faith and practice; which, I hope, none are so extravagant as to assert. The fifth argument, if I understand it, having the same foundation, must stand or

fall with the foregoing ones. That error, 'which arises from authority or predominant passions, is not always voluntary, and therefore not criminal,' would lead us I know not where. But I have no inclination to follow such a position."

"Whether you can make any meaning of this hasty and indigested scribble, I do not know. But be it what it will, I wish you to keep it by you, and not to expose it to any other. For though it is not fit to be seen by any but myself, I would not have it burned, as I may possibly wish to see it again myself; if it be only to mortify me when I reflect on the crudity of first thoughts on a strange subject. And I have some design to employ my thoughts a little more maturely on it, if spared and at liberty, after I have read Sykes' pamphlet. But I have not a scrawl upon it but what I here send you."

3. TO MR. B.

"Turville Street, May, 1788.

"Dear Brother,

"Yesterday, I received the pamphlet,* and am well pleased with the printing, folding, &c. I thank you for the care and pains you have taken, and pray that they may still go abroad, as it appears they have hitherto done, under the smiles and with the blessing of our heavenly Father, and be of use in this world of darkness and folly.

"Last week, was sent unto me, Dr. Chauncey on Universal Salvation, as a loan, with an earnest request of my remarks on it. I am beginning to read it, with as much attention as I am capable of, and I hope to go through with care, in my intervals of leisure. But as to remarks, I think I shall make none or very few, except in my own mind; for I would not willingly engage in any other controversy while I live; at least not till I have done with Mr. Fuller."

4. TO THE SAME.

Turville Street, July 29, 1788.

"What do you think of Sykes' Essay on the Innocence of Error? This piece makes no alteration in my mind; but rather confirms me in my former notice of the criminality of error. The result of reading Chauncey is much the same as of

* The second Edition of his Thirteen Letters, See page 185.

reading Sykes. I have also lately seen White on the same subject, who was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell; and have now in hand Purves, of Scotland, all on the same side. Winchester, from Philadelphia, has also lately published a three shilling volume on that side of the question, which I have seen but not read."

5. TO THE SAME.

"*Turville Street, Aug. 30, 1788.*

"The evening before last, Mr. Booth lent me Johnson on the subject mentioned in my last. But as I spent yesterday with Dr. Stennett, I have not had time to read much of it. It is a large work. I think it contains a good deal more matter than Chauncey; but not so advantageously written as to style and arrangement, though I apprehend much more according to truth. Mr. Booth is very pressing for me to abridge it."

"As to the best writers against the Arians and Socinians, I hardly know what to say. I consider them as opposing the truth of the scriptures in general; but chiefly on four heads: human depravity, the divinity of Christ, the atonement of Christ, and justification by faith. Their scheme is opposed to all orthodox systems of divinity, as you know. But I, for my part, do not think any one has refuted their whole scheme, especially the four branches above mentioned more advantageously than Mr. Hervey. Edwards against Taylor is reckoned the best thing on Original Sin. I think none pleases me better than Dr. Watts, on the divinity and atonement of Christ: see his Sermons, his little piece on the Trinity, and dissertations on it, his Orthodoxy and Charity united, and his Christ the Redeemer and Sanctifier. Brine's answer to Taylor on Atonement, is well worth reading, if it be read with care. On Justification by Faith, I know not which is the best of the many."

6. TO MRS. M.

"*Turville Street, Aug. 18, 1788.*

"Dear Sister,

"I hope your soul is still prosperous; and that you are on the stretch for a bright crown in glory. O remember, eternity, vast, boundless eternity is all. 'Time is ever on the wing.' We are hastening to be gone. The Lord enable us not to forget

it one moment! O for more life, activity and zeal for a good God! O for a more lasting and animating sense of the love of Christ! The world is full of snares and polluting objects. You and brother M— will remember this continually. You will, I trust, place it before your eyes, wherever you go and whatever you do. God forbid you should ever lose sight of your danger and your only Preserver. ‘ Watch and pray that you enter not into temptation.’ Be daily earnestly concerned to grow in grace. God will help you. Infinite power, wisdom and love are engaged for you. Look daily to your Almighty Friend and Father in faith and prayer, and all will be well.”

7. TO THE SAME.

“ *Turville Street, Feb. 17, 1789.*

“ *Dear Madam,*

“ Your affectionate and respectful letter came safe to hand; though I have not been able conveniently to acknowledge it before this morning. My heart’s desire is, that you may still increase in faith and love more and more; and that the blessing of God may continually rest upon you, and upon your husband and offspring. I rejoice to find you conscientious with regard to the important duty of prayer; which, while it is so necessary a duty, is also a royal and unspeakable privilege, and the great mean of receiving all good from the God of all grace. I hope you are equally conscientious in every other part of your heavenly Father’s will; and that the character of Zachariah and Elizabeth (*Luke i. 6*) may, with the fullest propriety, be applied to you and your husband.”

“ A ‘ regular attendance on *family worship*,’ I confess, has always appeared to me so agreeable to the temper of one who is born of God; so evidently suggested even by the light of nature; so much confirmed, as it appears to me, from the tenor of scripture; and is likely, under the blessing of God, to answer so many valuable purposes, that I have often been ready to suspect the genuine christianity of those who live in the neglect of it. Nor am I yet free from this prejudice; though I freely confess, that I know some valuable persons who think differently from myself and practice accordingly.”

“ To take up the subject on so extensive a ground, as that I have just mentioned, would be perfectly inconsistent and im-

proper, both on account of the little time I have to spare, and the small compass of a letter."

" That it is a duty of natural religion is, I think, evident to every one's feelings. For who can think of a family every moment depending on God, every moment receiving undeserved favours from him, and receiving them *unitedly*, and not reverently and thankfully uniting to make acknowledgment of them, and to pray for the continuance of them? Who can think of a family who *unitedly* confess that the Bible is the word of God, put into our hands that we may understand, believe and practise it, and are therefore under daily obligations to read and attend to it, and who are informed of these things by the parent and head of the family, and yet such a family does not daily unite in reading and hearing this blessed book? To me, I confess, it appears all absurdity and contradiction. Hence it is a known fact, that the very heathens themselves practised family worship, and had their *Lares* and *Penates*, their household images, for that purpose."

" That there are no words in scripture expressly commanding a family to unite daily in the worship of God, I confess. No more are there express words commanding a minister and his people to meet together and worship God weekly. The same may be said of other practices, as I have lately shewn at large in my Dissertation on Singing. But I think it very evident that the propriety, necessity and duty of it, may be easily learnt from the scriptures."

" I cannot conceive what method Joshua could take (xxiv. 15) that he and his family should serve the Lord, on which he positively resolves, if they did not unite in divine worship. Nor can I think why the wrath of God should be mentioned (*Jer. x. 25.*) as the portion of families who call not on the name of God, if family religion be not a duty incumbent on all mankind. If we ought to pray every where, (*Ephes. vi. 18, 19. 1 Tim. ii. 2—8.*) I should think that our houses and our families are the most proper places for this exercise. If parents are under obligations to teach the will of God to their children, (*Gen. xviii. 19. Deut. vi. 5—8. 2 Tim. iii. 15.*) I should think it must be the most proper time and way of doing it, when the family is called together for that purpose."

" It is evident to me that many advantages may, and fre-

quently do, result from family worship. Children and servants are thereby led to consider the necessity of remembering that all their comforts are from God, and therefore to sin against him is peculiarly enormous and abominable. They are hereby often brought acquainted with the word of God; and if they be not converted by this means, as I am well satisfied multitudes have been, yet this knowledge of the word of God may be, and generally is, a direction to their duty and a restraint from sin all their lives."

" Besides, there is something so pleasing and so happy to the parents themselves in calling their families together to read and hear the word of God, and to worship before him, that, I acknowledge, it is a wonder to me how any who take pleasure in devotion can live in the neglect of it."

" That parents and masters ought to exercise authority in their own families, I should think nobody will call in question. But, I believe, if parents and masters be what they ought to be, there will be little need of authority in order to keep up family worship."

" These are only general hints. Particulars and long reasonings you will not expect. If any thing answer your purpose, or be of any use to you, let the thanks be given to God."

8. TO MR. B.

" *Turville Street, April 15, 1789.*

" Dear Sir,

" I am favoured with your's and thank you for it. But if you knew the business which lies before me, I think you would excuse me from controversy till after Whitsuntide. Such a group of letters lying before me to answer, (three long ones I have written this day before your's)—so much church, family and occasional business—to prepare the plan for the Association and General Assembly—to prepare a discourse on a strange subject, on which I never yet preached, and very difficult, for the Association—to prepare a charge for Brother Goddard, who is to be ordained on Whit-Monday—to prepare for a long journey to Yorkshire, &c. on which I go out on May 10, is more work than I know how to perform with any degree of decency. You must therefore excuse me, at least for two months."

9. TO THE SAME.

Turville Street, 1789.

“ Mr. Brittain’s presence at home next Lord’s day appears of such essential importance for the welfare and peace of the church that you must give me leave, not only to beg it as a favour, but to urge it as a most important duty and a matter of absolute necessity, that you will not only consent to his coming, but that you will use every argument in your power to persuade him to be at home the next Lord’s day. If you do not this, and if he do not hearken to it, I am well satisfied both he and you will see reason to repent.”

“ It astonishes me that both of you, and especially, that *he* does not see the necessity of it in so strong a light as to render persuasion unnecessary. If laying on of hands be of that importance which he makes it to be, how can he admit of such a palpable irregularity as to let us take three persons into the church without it.”

“ We have put two off one month, with no little difficulty and danger to the peace of the church, in order to oblige him, and to keep things regular. To throw things into confusion after all is unbearable. To gratify himself a few days longer, or to oblige you, or twenty other ministers and churches, can be mere nothing in comparison of what is regarded as an ordinance of Christ and essential to church fellowship. If laying on of hands be not so considered, it certainly ought to be understood in the church that it is not so. And if it be not, it ought to be treated as a matter of indifference, and not made essential to fellowship, as it always has been hitherto.”

“ It were easy to enlarge: but I speak to wise men: and I think it my duty to urge it on both of you, by all that is sacred, not to make divine things, as trifles, to submit to our gratification and idle compliance with one another. The Devil has schemes and ways enow to make distraction in churches. We need not help him.”

10. TO MR. W. THOMPSON.

Turville Street, April, 1790.

“ The expressions which you mention, and which I had forgotten, appear to me very different from the style of

Mr. Huntingdon: and though free, strictly proper. But as I hope soon to have the great pleasure of seeing and conversing with you, and would not ruffle your mind, by any thing like disputation, I shall only say now, that I think those persons, whoever they are, that do not apprehend the abominable wickedness and damnable tendency of Mr. W.'s doctrines, are indeed the objects of pity. And I rather differ from you, and think such 'harsh expressions' in friendly correspondence at least may do good, and ought to be used."

"As to controversy, I am as willing to lay it aside, I assure you, as you are to wish me to do it; though I do not think it ought to drop; nor that the reasons you assign are valid. For you know, my brother, disputants do not write to convert one another; but to instruct their readers in general," or to preserve them from error. If therefore Mr. W. and I should 'still remain in the same mind,' yet many others may be profited by what we write. I desire to bless God, that I have good evidence of the advantage that some have received from what I have written, on this and on former subjects in controversy. But I should be heartily glad to be excused from disputation myself for reasons elsewhere given."

11. TO THE SAME.

"Turville Street, Jan. 6, 1791.

"*My dear Brother,*

"Though much behind with business, and not much fit for it, especially by a disorder in my eyes, probably arising from my late night fatigues with my family, who, blessed be God, are now in a good measure recovered, I do myself the pleasure of giving you a hasty scrawl on the Queries of an 'honest enquirer.' But you must excuse great brevity."

"*Query I.* 'If a great part of mankind be eternally miserable, in what sense is it true that 'all flesh shall see the salvation of God;' and 'all the families of the earth be blessed in Abraham's seed, the Messiah?'"

"*Ans. 1.* It is merely as an indulgence to you that I attempt to answer this and several other queries. In strict reasoning it would be highly improper. It is the business of an universalist to prove that these texts are true in his sense, and can be true in no other sense. Without attention to this, disputes would

be as they often have been, shamefully prolonged and confused. 2. ‘All flesh shall see the Salvation of God,’ was fulfilled in the first preaching of the Gospel: *Col. i. 6, 23*, will be more fully accomplished in the Millennium state, and it will be awfully seen by all at the day of judgment, even by those who have rejected it, and shall then be eternally excluded from it. 3. All the families of the earth have been more or less blessed in the Messiah ever since the days of Christ. They were particularly so in the first centuries, and will be in the Millennium. If sinners turn divine blessings into curses, by abusing them, that is no proof that they are not blessed by Christ.”

“Query II. ‘If a great part of mankind be eternally miserable, is not the death of Christ then rather a curse to them than a blessing?’ Answer 1. It is allowed on all hands, and on all schemes, that sinners who sin under the Gospel have their sins more aggravated, and will be more severely punished, in proportion to the advantages which they have had, or might have had from Christ. This is not only the language of Revelation, but of common sense. 2. Yet it does not follow that the death of Christ is in itself a curse to them; but that they are more awfully condemned for their slight or abuse of so great a blessing. 3. I may add, this is true of all the blessings of providence, as well as the death of Christ.”

“Query III. ‘If a great part of mankind be eternally miserable, what proportion of future punishment is there between the least sinner and the greatest offender?’ Answer. It is manifest to every one, that two persons may be punished an equal time and yet the one punished, by many degrees, more severely than the other.”

“Query IV. ‘Is it consistent with the Nature of a Being who has declared himself *Love itself*, to punish eternally creatures born in such unhappy circumstances, for once transgressing his law?’ Answer 1. I do not pretenud to understand what is consistent in every thing with the nature of God. Though in some instances this is plain, and may deserve notice; yet the great enquiry is: What is *contained in his word*? 2. I do not think he ever did, or ever will, punish any man for once transgressing his law. 3. How far it might be *just* if God did this, is another and very different enquiry?”

“Query V. ‘Does not your doctrine of universal love and

of Christ's dying for all men, leave the wicked *exactly* in the same state of eternal misery, as the Calvinist system does? If so, where is the difference?" *Answer* 1. I think it does leave the wicked, who continue wicked, in the same state, as to the punishment they must endure. The difference of my scheme and the Calvinist is this: The Calvinist leaves man *necessarily* exposed to this wickedness, and the misery consequent upon it. My scheme is, that provision is made for them that they may be saved; so that if they perish the fault is wholly their own."

"*Query VI.* 'Would not the divine Being appear to us more abundantly glorified, on the supposition that wicked men were liberated from hell torments, after having been punished proportionably to the nature and number of their crimes?' *Answer.* Yes, I think so, I have no notion that they will ever be punished *more* than the nature and number of their crimes require: nor do I believe they ever will be."

"*Query VII.* 'Would it not appear a more wonderful display of the dying love of Jesus, to have all the human race for whom he died partakers of his glory, than for a great part of them to be punished in hell eternally?' *Answer* 1. I do not know. Perhaps the love of Jesus will be most displayed by the punishment of those who trample upon it. 2. Supposing it would, there are other attributes to be displayed besides love. 3. The very notion of men being delivered from hell by the *love* of Jesus, implies that they justly deserve that punishment from which he delivers them. If they did not deserve it, it would not be love but justice to deliver them from it. Therefore the principle of this query is inconsistent with the principle of several of the former."

"*Query VIII.* 'Can it be supposed to be consistent with infinite power, love and grace, to suffer the devil to keep millions of mankind for whom Jesus shed his blood, in hell torments eternally?' *Answer.* I do not know that the devil keeps them in hell torments. I apprehend he is so far from keeping them in hell, that he would be glad to get out himself. As to *love and grace*—if redeeming love and grace are despised and rejected, I do not find, in scripture, any other way to be saved, or for love and grace to be manifested. It is right, so far as I can see, for those who have awfully excluded themselves from it, to be for ever deprived of it."

“*Query IX.* ‘Would not preaching universal salvation to men, be more likely to affect them, and bring them to repentance than the contrary doctrine?’ *Answer 1.* I think we are not very able to judge in theory what may be most effectual, nor would it be safe to attempt it, unless we were wiser than God. The evil of this is manifest; and has been awfully manifest in all ages. If the prophets and Christ and his apostles preached this doctrine, it is certainly useful. But if not, it must be hurtful. To me it is strikingly clear that the doctrine is a contradiction to the whole Bible, and to every thing that is good; and therefore I cannot in theory expect it to be profitable to men. 2. Does it appear in fact that this doctrine has been instrumental to accomplish the ends here mentioned? Have any been so affected as to be brought to repentance by it? 3. Is it not a fact to which all mankind are witnesses, that the contrary doctrine has frequently and certainly been the means of bringing sinners to repentance?”

“*Query X.* ‘However is it not possible for a very good man to believe this doctrine to be scriptural,’ &c. *Answer.* I do not know but it is.”

“*Query XI.* ‘If so, why call it damnable heresy, and other ill names?’ *Answer.* If people believe it to be a damnable heresy, I think they have a right to call it so. Surely we are not to estimate the enormity of errors by the supposed character of those who embrace them.”

“*Query XII.* ‘Is it to be supposed that good men will all see eye to eye before the days of the Millennium?’ *Answer.* Perhaps not.”

“Thus I have endeavoured, as a mere indulgence to an esteemed and beloved friend, to give a ‘short answer’ to his queries. But I beg leave to observe, that queries of this kind are not, in my opinion, calculated to assist in the investigation of truth; but rather to pervert and poison the minds of men, and have always had this tendency. Our business, I think, in enquiring after truth is, not to propose queries concerning incidental circumstances; but to read the word of God, and believe it.”

“I should take it as a particular favour, if you would inform me what you think of the necessity and propriety of writing a reply to Mr. Winchester’s Five Letters to me. As you are better

acquainted than I can pretend to be with the probable and certain effects of his pamphlet, you are better able to advise with respect to it. I must confess, if his five letters do not sufficiently convince every attentive reader that his whole scheme is a direct opposition to the word of God, I can hardly indulge a hope of convincing men. Yet if any thing be necessary to ‘drive the nail to the head,’ I think the destructive tendency of his scheme requires it. Advise me on this subject.”

“Thanks for your last; and thanks to God that I am able to write or preach to the satisfaction of you and others! That every benediction may be the portion of you, Mrs. Thompson, and all friends at Boston, is the prayer of your grateful, &c.”

12. TO THE SAME.

Union Street, 1791.

“*Beloved Brother,*

“You will probably think I am long before I fulfil my promise of writing to you, which I acknowledge to be true. But I am so much engaged with various cares and labours, that I could not well procure time; nor indeed, have I much to say now; but that, I bless God, we are all tolerably well, and the work of the Lord goes forward amongst us. I should be glad to know that this is the case with you, and all your friends, and with dear Mr. Barlow and Mr. Boyce. Let me know how things prosper in all the churches round you, and whether you have any old records of your church which I could be permitted to see. I also wish you would enquire when you conveniently can, what records are preserved of any churches in Lincolnshire or elsewhere.”

“Dr. Rippon has published the Second Part of his Baptist Register, and has given some account of the General Baptists, especially of our Connection. He wishes to give a more perfect account. I fear I cannot do any thing towards publishing an account of the General Baptists, as requested at the last General Assembly. I wish some other would undertake it. I cannot do every thing. I can do but little; and yet have much before me. I am requested to take the labour and trouble of printing the new hymn-book;* to which I have consented.”

* This Collection of Hymns has been long out of print. Mr. T. had no concern in preparing the Hymn Book now used by many of our churches.

13. TO THE SAME.

Union-Street, May 13, 1791.

"It affects my mind, my dear brother, to see in some persons, as I think, a laxness of mind, with respect to some important doctrines. You and I have withstood some pushes; and, I trust, we have been in some measure useful. May we be steadfast to the end! I am continually attended with evidence, that where these doctrines are slighted, the work of God declines. May God revive his ministers; and thereby revive his truth and his work!"

14. *To the Rev. GILBERT BOYCE, on the Decline of Religion among the baptized churches. (See page 200—202.)*

LETTER 1.

Union-Street, May 25, 1793.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"In order to write with precision on the causes of the decline of vital religion, or the proper means of reviving it, I think, we ought to define the term, and describe the thing. For unless we understand what true vital religion is, we cannot conceive clearly either of the declension or revival of it. Religion, if I mistake not, may be thus defined, 'It is such a regard to God, in the mind and life of man, as corresponds with the revelation which God has been pleased to make of himself.' So the religion of nature, or natural religion, is such a regard to God in heart and life, as corresponds with that discovery which the great Jehovah has made of himself in the works of creation and providence. The Jewish religion is a correspondence in heart and life to the account which God has given of himself in the Old Testament, and the directions which he formerly gave to the Jews. The religion of Jesus Christ, or the religion of a Christian, is that regard to God which corresponds with the discovery he hath made of himself in the New Testament, and the directions there given to men. I take it for granted, that you and your friends wish to be understood as intending the religion of Christ, the religion of the New Testament, when you speak

of religion, in the letter now before me: and in this sense, I wish to be understood in these pages."

"I. The New Testament then, represents the great Jehovah as a God of love. The first great design of it is to inform fallen man, 'that God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should never perish!' *John* iii. 16, *1 John* iv. 9, 10. The regard which is due to a God who has given such a representation, and such proofs of his love to miserable sinners, is that we believe this revelation, that we confide in this God of love, that we admit no hard thoughts of him; that we never suspect his readiness to save the most unworthy sinner who comes to him by Jesus Christ, and that we constantly and sincerely love and praise him for his great goodness. And that this is required of all who read the New Testament, I need not prove to you or your friends."

"If we do not steadily confide in him, and venture our souls in his gracious hands, we ungratefully put away his word from us, and refuse the best of blessings. If we do not love him, and bless and praise him, and gratefully serve him for such a display of love; if we are lovers of sin, and of the world, if we are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, we certainly have not the religion of the New Testament."

"II. In the New Testament, the great Jehovah has informed us that 'he has given his own Son, to die for our sins,' 'to bear them in his own body on the tree,' *1 Cor.* xv. 3. *1 Pet.* ii. 24, iii. 18. And as this is the most glorious display of the Father's love, as well as of the love of his Son, Jesus Christ, and the only ground of hope for sinful man, it is the great design of the New Testament not only to assert this fact, but also to narrate the various circumstances of it, and the blessings which flow from it to miserable sinners. It is therefore mentioned as the first great truth of the gospel, (*1 Cor.* xv. 3.) Now such information as this certainly requires a correspondent regard, both to the Father and the Son; and, as this is evidently the sum and substance of the gospel, and that great fact without which nothing could possibly administer hope or encouragement to fallen man, it is the more important, and a slight regard to it is proportionably the more criminal."

"A correspondent regard to the Father is ardent love, confident hope, and unfeigned gratitude. A correspondent regard

to the Son includes a dependance on him as our great Atonement, and the only way to the Father; that in prayer we have regard to Jesus's death for our sins, as the only medium and mean of all our happiness; that we not only in speculation, so think of him, but that we heartily embrace him, confide in him; *2 Tim. i. 12, Rom. xv. 12: love him, 1 Cor. xvi. 22: rejoice in him, Phil. iii. 3: glory in him, Gal. vi. 14: praise him, Rev. i. 5, 6: and gratefully serve him, 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.*"

" III. The New Testament contains many precious promises to those who believe in and love Jesus Christ, and many dreadful threatenings to those who do not. These are expressive of the purity of God, his love to his children, and care for them in every situation; and the anger of God against others, who do not trust and love him. These demand our confidence, reverence and gratitude; and will excite a holy serenity in the minds of true christians in cleaving to God whatever they meet with in this world."

" The religion of Christ, in this branch of it, is a holy cleaving to God, dependence on him, courage in his cause whatever we lose or suffer for him, and an abhorrence of all sin in ourselves and others."

" IV. The New Testament presents to our view the awful, glorious realities of another world, a righteous judgment, an eternal heaven, or an everlasting hell, that will be the portion of all who here are, or are not, the faithful followers of Jesus Christ: and requires that we all fear this hell, and fly from the wrath to come; that we act in the view of that world; that believers 'seek the things that are above ;' that they 'lay up treasure in heaven,' 'labour to be rich towards God,' and patiently endure the trials of life, in prospect of an eternal crown."

" He, therefore, who is possessed of the religion of Christ, lives under the impression and operation of these great and glorious objects. He is not so much enquiring how he may be rich or honourable on earth, as how he may be rich towards God; and endure and perform every part of the divine will, so as to glorify his heavenly Father on earth, and to have a glorious reward in that day when God shall, not for our merits, but of his rich free grace, reward every man according to his works."

" V. The New Testament gives the characters of God's people, of truly good men, that we may examine ourselves

whether we are such or not. According to this infallible book, they are ‘new creatures;’ *2 Cor.* v. 17—‘born again,’ ‘born of God,’ ‘converted,’ and ‘become as little children;’ *Matt.* xviii. 3—‘renewed in the spirit of their minds;’ *Eph.* iv. 22, 23, 24—they ‘have Christ in them the hope of glory;’ *Col.* i. 27—they have ‘received the Holy Spirit;’ *Gal.* iii. 2. *1 John* iii. 24 and iv. 13—they ‘keep God’s word, and his commandments;’ *1 John* ii. 3, 4—and ‘purify themselves even as he is pure;’ *1 John* iii. 3.”

“No man, therefore, who does not, in some measure, bear these characters, is a true christian, nor a partaker of the religion of the New Testament, or the religion of Jesus Christ.”

“VI. The New Testament shews us, that in the world, as christians, we are in danger of being ensnared, and overcome by enemies; and therefore, in order to avoid these snares and overcome these enemies, we must watch and pray, take up our cross, deny ourselves, wait upon God in his ordinances, in order to be strengthened with strength in our souls, and cleave to the Lord with purpose of heart.”

“VII. The New Testament informs us where our help is and how to obtain it, amidst all the enemies, dangers and trials of life. ‘Without Christ we can do nothing;’ *John* xv. 5. ‘We are not sufficient of ourselves, even to think any thing; but all our sufficiency of God.’ ”

“If we have the religion of Christ, we are stript of confidence in our own wisdom and strength, and pray for wisdom and strength, from God; and trust in him for these blessings. ‘If we lack wisdom, we ask it of God;’ *James* i. 5. ‘We pray that we may be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man;’ *Ephes.* iii. 16: and for these purposes, God always ‘gives his Holy Spirit to them that ask him;’ *Luke* xi. 13. So that those who live a life of faith and prayer for the Spirit of God to lead and strengthen them in all their difficulties, against all their enemies, are sure to make a progress in holiness, notwithstanding the opposition they may meet with; and come off more than conquerors, through him that has loved them; *Rom.* viii. 37. They shall soon enjoy the completion of that unspeakably gracious promise, ‘To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne?’ *Rev.* iii. 21.

" It were easy to enlarge on this copious subject, but my design is to be as brief as perspicuity will admit. It is natural to make this one general observation on the whole, that the religion of the New Testament, by which alone men can be made everlastingly happy, does not consist in names, or notions, or forms, or impulses of any kind, however necessary or proper, or valuable these may be, for certain purposes; but the foundation of it is laid in the experimental knowledge of Jesus Christ: by which knowledge we are renewed in our hearts, the Spirit of God dwells in the soul, unites the heart to God, and teaches and enables us to maintain a holy correspondence with him and in the use of the means of grace, to receive strength and wisdom from him, and to devote ourselves, though with many imperfections, cheerfully and uniformly to his service, in holiness and righteousness, to the praise and glory of his great name. In proportion to the decay or advancement of such a spirit, temper and life among men, vital religion decays or advances; and men are happy or miserable, both for time and eternity. Of this decay or advancement, my intention is, by divine assistance, to give you my thoughts in the ensuing epistles. In the mean time, and at all times, earnestly requesting an interest in your prayers, I am, your, &c."

15. LETTER II.

Rev. and dear Sir,

" I think we may be greatly assisted in our inquiry into the causes of the decay of vital religion, and the means of reviving it, by recollecting what it is—the great instrument of producing it, the gospel—and the means of promoting it. For where true religion does not exist in those who ought to promote it, a decline is the natural consequence; and where the great instrument of effecting it, or the means of promoting it, are not used, it must decay."

" True christianity is, as we have seen, a temper and life corresponding with the New Testament, or with that discovery of himself which the great God has been pleased to make in that blessed book."

" That there is no such correspondence in men by nature, is almost as evident to every attentive observer, who carefully reads the New Testament, as it is that men live, breathe and think.

The change by which men are brought to this state is called in scripture, ‘being converted,’ ‘being born again,’ ‘being renewed in the spirit of their mind,’ ‘being made new creatures,’ ‘being created in Christ Jesus unto good works,’ ‘being born of God,’ &c.”

“ Now if there be a mean of effecting this change and bringing men into this state, and that mean is not used, we cannot expect this change to be effected, nor men to be brought into this condition. And I believe we shall all agree, that whatever mean the apostles used for this purpose, the same is necessary at this day. The history of their labours, as well as their own declarations, will sufficiently inform us what methods they used in order to bring men into this state.”

“ It is certain, that we have not a full account of all that the apostles preached to men. For ‘with many other words did they testify and exhort;’ *Acts* ii. 40. But we have, in several places, an epitome at least, of their discourses. They evidently stated and proved that Jesus Christ, of Nazareth, was the Son of God, and the Messiah which the Jews had so long expected: and having done that, they proclaimed pardon and salvation through him, by faith, to guilty men. Their language was, ‘Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things.’ ‘Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.’ *Acts* xiii. 38, 39, xvi. 31.”

“ If we enquire at the mouth of Paul himself, how he preached, he has given us an account both of the object and subject of his ministry. The object was ‘to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Christ.’ *Acts* xxvi. 18. The subject was ‘repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.’ *Acts* xx. 21. He varies the phraseology a little, on another occasion; but his account his evidently the same in substance. *Acts* xxvi. 20. The doctrine he preached, he frequently calls the *gospel*, and he particularly explains what the gospel was, viz. ‘that Christ died for our sins, was buried, rose again, and gave sufficient proof of his resurrection.’ 1 *Cor.* xv. 3—9.”

"The pious Jews who believed their own prophets, always expected a Messiah who should die for the sins of men; nor was it possible that any system which did not contain this doctrine should be a gospel, or good tidings, or suit the condition, or be of any saving use, either to Jews or Gentiles. These first and incomparably best of preachers not only insist upon it in their ministry; but they introduce it on almost all occasions, and exhibit it in all its various lights, in their epistles. We can seldom read a page without a reference to it, as a doctrine which is not only the sole foundation, and a complete foundation, for the hope of sinners; but a doctrine which animates to every branch of holiness, and is indeed the song, the joy, and the glory of true believers in their pilgrimage through this sinful and miserable world."

"Indeed other systems had been sufficiently tried, and that by the greatest of men; but they all proved ineffectual to make men truly holy and happy. The blessed God saw this, and 'after that the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.' *1 Cor. i. 21.* The context shews that what they believed and the foolishness of preaching by which they were saved, was the despised doctrine of *Christ crucified for the sins of men.* It is an incontrovertible fact, that this was the fundamental doctrine which the apostles taught the world; and what the effect of it was, appears in the conversions and genuine reformation in different parts where they preached. This genuine reformation is an illustration, by facts, of *Rom. i. 16. 1 Thess. ii. 13.* And it will much assist us in ascertaining the grand cause of the present declension of vital religion, both among some General Baptists, and some other professors. For if no other doctrine could convert men and make them holy and happy in the time of the apostles, it is unreasonable to imagine that any other should do it at this day. If this doctrine was effectual for this great purpose, in that age, nothing can be more natural than to conclude that it must be so in all ages. Nor do I in the least hesitate to appeal to all mankind, whether it be not undeniable in fact, that, in every age and in every part of the world, where remarkable revivals have been known, they have been effected by a system which included this doctrine as a fundamental. It is equally undeniable, that where this doctrine has been laid

aside, or has been considered in any other light than as a fundamental, without which true christianity cannot exist, vital religion, in those times and places, has always declined ; and never revived afterwards, till the preaching of this doctrine as fundamental to all the holiness and happiness of mortals, has been revived. What I now assert, Sir, is confirmed, not only by the history of the New Testament, but also by the history of religion in all ages and in all places, for a series of seventeen hundred years. You, Sir, and thousands of others, can examine this fact as well as myself ; and my earnest desire is that it may be examined, and disproved, if it can be disproved. If not ; that the lessons taught by it may be reduced to practice."*

17. TO MR. J. H.

Mile-End Road, Dec. 16, 1795.

" Dear Brother H.

" I can hardly excuse myself, with all my avocations, that I have not sooner acknowledged the receipt of your favour by Mr. D. I have had trials since then such as I never knew before. But hitherto the Lord has helped me. Indeed we are poor creatures. We know not what we can do or bear till we are tried. But we know that our God has told us that *he cares for us*. That is sufficient consolation. Lord, write it on our hearts. I hope you are yet doing much for Christ, and glorifying his great and blessed name : and that many are made happy by your instrumentality. I pray that you may go on, and do wonders for Christ, and the souls of men. You must have trials and enemies, if engaged for Jesus. But fear them not. Before this glorious Zerubbabel every mountain shall become a plain."

18. TO HIS BROTHER, MR. J. T.

Mile-End Road, Feb. 14, 1797.

" My dear Brother,

" I had the great pleasure to receive your long letter, and bless God that you are able to write so much. I hope it will please the Father of mercies to continue your life for years to come, for the good of his church and many others, though you are

* For further Extracts from these interesting Letters, see *History of English General Baptists*, Vol. I. page 483.

so feeble. And, Oh, my brother, let us ever remember, that how feeble soever our powers are, yet if used for our blessed Redeemer, as they ought to be, we shall be blessed here and rewarded hereafter. Rich grace! He gives the ability and rewards the use of it."

19. TO MRS. M.

Mile-End Road, April 7, 1797.

"Dear Sister M.

"At our last church meeting I was requested to write to you respecting your welfare in soul and body. Will you therefore be kind enough to indulge me with a line to inform me how you do, how Mr. M. and your family are; but especially how your precious and immortal soul prospers. I hope you are growing up into him in all things, who is the head, even the Lord Jesus Christ."

"When you can spare a few moments for the above purpose, which I request to be as soon as you can make it convenient, will you also give yourself the trouble of informing me what you know of the state of religion, and of the state of trade, so far as you are acquainted. In London I fear every thing wears a gloomy aspect. I fear the hearts of professors themselves are too little intent upon heavenly, and too much engaged about earthly things. O that God in his great mercy may quicken us all, and deliver us from this present evil world!"

"Let us be jealous over ourselves, frequently examine the ground on which we stand, and the evidence that we stand firm! be watchful over our own hearts, that the cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, or the lust of other things, do not destroy our comfort and usefulness."

20. To a YOUNG MINISTER and his WIFE, near relatives,
on their settling with a church.

Mile-End Road, Aug. 20, 1799.

"Dear _____

"I was favoured with your's, and bless the Lord for the safety with which you arrived at H-----. I trust you continue comfortable in all respects. Our daily prayers are for your welfare; and I trust you daily pray for yourselves, both

separately and together. Be assured that a life of humble believing prayer, is a life of substantial pleasure. As heads of a family, think and talk much of *Prov.* iii. 33. Conspicuous as your situation and rank in the church are, remember many eyes are upon you: and without being uncandid, you may reasonably suppose many *envious* eyes. Many will be glad to remark every impropriety in your speech, conduct and dress; and to improve the impropriety to your disadvantage; to diminish, if not to destroy your influence, and by that means, your usefulness. Thoughts of this should not bring your minds into a state of bondage and slavery; but they certainly should excite caution. Permit me to advise you not to encourage idle and useless chit-chat with any one. A spiritual temper and conversation will much prevent your having the company of those who are little worth, and will secure you the esteem of those who will do you good, and receive good from you; and consequently are the only persons whose smiles and friendship are truly worth desiring. At the same time, they will promote your peace, brighten your evidences, and encrease your usefulness, and your present and everlasting comfort. You may be solid and yet be cheerful. There is ‘a time to laugh as well as to weep;’ and the real christian can laugh properly, from his heart, and for good reasons.”

“ Pay proper respect, without fawning, to Mr. T. and to the elder serious people in the church. Preserve an equanimity of mind and temper before all men: serious, cheerful, good natured. Be not too fond of company, inviting and being invited. I have hurt myself with this. If you deserve friendship, you will have more friends than you can well accommodate; and in all probability, they will be encreasing every year. Good economy, with respect to sleep, time, furniture, food and dress, will be of unspeakable advantage to you. But if I do not stop, I shall go on to a volume. I must be an economist myself; and reserve the next to future letters. I only add now, if people should speak against you, observe it well; but do not seem to observe it, nor to know of it. The best way of demolishing reproaches, is to *live them down*. Without this, you may talk in vain for ever. With it, reproaches will die of themselves, and the authors of them will be treated as they deserve.”

21. TO MRS. M.

Mile-End Road, April 29, 1800.

“ *My dear Sister,*

“ I take this hasty opportunity of just dropping you a line to say, that I hope you are still prospering in the divine life, in this sinful and miserable world. Sinful and miserable as it is, however, blessed be the Lord! we have a better before us, and our way to it is but short, though rough and thorny; and we have a never-failing friend and guardian in every part of it. Is your faith resting upon him? Is he not to you the fairest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely? But if he is so lovely now, when you see him so darkly, how much more lovely will he appear when you see him as he is! and with what rapture will you contemplate his infinite excellencies through never ending ages!”

“ Till that blessed day commence, may we live upon his ‘ exceedingly great and precious promises;’ and make it our one great concern, by a holy conversation, coupled with fear, to glorify his great and adorable name. I sometimes think, I trust, with christian comissioner, of the trials you have endured for some years past. But the hand that has helped you through them is divine; and the same divine hand ‘ will never fail you nor forsake you;’ so that you may boldly say, ‘ the Lord is my helper.’ May the God of our salvation be still more fully known by yourself, your partner, your family and all your friends! Hoping to meet you soon in the regions of light and peace, I am, &c.”

22. TO MR. FR—N.

Mile-End Road, Jan. 5, 1800.

“ Is my dear and sincerely esteemed brother Fr—n, my old, close correspondent, living or dead? If alive, I beg the favour of information—where he is—how he is—what he does—how he likes his situation—how his family is—how he succeeds as Tutor and Minister, &c. &c. &c. Not a syllable received from him, or an item received of him, for more than six months !!!”

23. TO THE SAME.

No date.

“ Hey-day! Hey-day! good brother Fr—n. But you must be rallied, Sir, out of your hyps. Rouse ye, rouse ye, my good friend, put off your mittens, and let us see what you can do. What! placed in the centre of activity and talk of creeping into a corner, and leaving your brethren to expose themselves by their blunders, which you, who are able, ought to correct? But it is more agreeable to the hyp, to be quiet, and to eat my own morsel alone. Pretty affair indeed! And what will the next account be? ‘ I am almost confined to my bed; I am not fit to stir.’ For shame! So much northwind, and these vapours not yet dispelled! What are your neighbours about, Sir. Not one to halloo, ‘ poor F——.’ ”

“ I have not your kind letter before me. I immediately sent it to the doctor; wishing him to send you any specific, or advice in his power. I hope it will please our heavenly Father to remove your other disorder, or abundantly to support and comfort you under it. My opinion is, that the one disorder will naturally promote the other. Perhaps air, exercise and cheerful company, may be antidotes against both. I most sensibly and sincerely commiserate your ease, with regard to both. May you be directed to proper means of counteracting them before their roots strike too deep, and their power become too prevalent for medicine or regimen. Happy shall I be to hear that you are in every respect much better. I feel for poor Mrs. F——. The Lord make her strength equal to her day.”

24. TO HIS BROTHER, MR. J. T.

No date.

“ You will undoubtedly think two things proper in dealing with your heretical members. First. That you take all the pains you can to instruct and convince them, before you exclude them. Second, That you labour to see their meaning. If they mean what you do, though they may express it in different language, I think that should excite your candour and caution, and much exculpate them from the charge.”

25. TO THE SAME.

Mile-End Road, Feb. 17, 1801.

“ *My beloved Brother,*

“ I was favoured with your’s, and thank God, and desire to unite with you in thanks to our brethren in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c. for their compassionate regard to you, and the poor of your country and neighbourhood, in your necessities. Times are, indeed, very trying: But our God and Saviour, blessed be his name! is able to bring us through them, and, I doubt not, he will do it. Last Lord’s day, I preached a funeral sermon for one of our members, Mr. Sympson, from *Heb. vi. 15.* He was a lame man, and has endured a good deal to the age of seventy-one; having been a member of our church almost fifty years, and died triumphant. I believe the words are verified in him; and rejoice in hope that they will soon be verified in your experience and mine, and that of many others. Remind your poor distressed friends of this; and the Lord enable you to do it well, and accompany your endeavours in this, and every other labour of love, with his abundant blessing!”

“ With respect to brother D. &c. I, without hesitation or demur, give my opinion on his case, in answer to your query. ‘ Will it be right to let him preach occasionally, when one opposes it?’ ”

“ *Answer.* Yes, I think so, by all means, if three, or four, or six ones oppose it, admitting that I and the majority of the church, believe him to have preaching abilities, that his moral character is good, and that he preaches the truth, and does it with a sincere mind. How are ministers to be raised up? how is any part of the work of God to go on, if one, or two, or three, and these perhaps not the Solomons of their age, and possibly under the power of prejudice, shall be suffered to hinder it? To admit of this in a church of Christ, is contrary to reason, to scripture, and to the conduct of all regular societies. But then, to avoid offence and prevent harm, as much as possible, I think it might be well to let him begin with preaching not very often, and perhaps rather in some of your evening meetings, at private houses, &c. than in your meeting-house on a Lord’s day, unless in case of necessity. N. B. I say, let him *begin* thus; and I beg leave to add, that I think it might be well for you to hear

him once or twice, that you might be able to vindicate his preaching, know where and when to advise him to preach; and to give him proper directions. In all probability this proceeding may conduce to the good of hundreds; and to keep him from preaching may prevent the salvation of hundreds: possibly, in its connections and consequences, of thousands. Indeed to keep a young man, properly qualified and disposed, from preaching, because one, or two, or three, may object to it, seems to me, a high extreme of madness. There are three ordained ministers, who are all to a moderate degree, useful ministers, and two or three not ordained, who are also useful, all raised from our church, since I came to London; and would all have been silenced, if I had not broken through such obstacles as those you mention: and I rejoice that I did it."

26. *To a YOUNG RELATIVE, setting out in the Work of the Ministry.*

July 12, 1799.

"Remember these are golden moments; improve them well. Forget not the value of biblical knowledge. Be much in earnest in private prayer."

April 29, 1800.

"With pleasure I received your letter; but read some of its contents with pain: partly on account of your unpleasant circumstances, and partly on account of your apparent impatience. Remember your duty and your honour require you 'to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ;' and 'to learn to be full and to be hungry, to abound and to suffer need;' and in every state to be content. May God, by your present trials, teach you these lessons more perfectly! May you be an example of these duties and excellencies in future years! My greatest concern is about your indisposition. Take care of your health. Speak level, slow, softly and short; and keep yourself dry. Get help for your pleuritic complaint, if you can. The Lord succeed you."

"As to your ministry, it seems that you have some reason to rejoice. Be thankful for little appearances. Go on, and God will give you more favour."

"As soon as you are permanently settled, I advise, by all

means, that you begin a school immediately. It cannot be expected that the churches whose ministers are all working around you, should support you to do nothing. A school is greatly helpful to the ministry. It will give you respectability; and, if well managed, will attract the people's attention and affection. You will have time on your hands, and you are qualified. Little else to do: and your people will love you. All will help those who endeavour to help themselves. Be steady; watch, pray, study; be regular.—Lord help you."

July 24, 1800.

" I have this moment run over with my eye, your singular and, in various ways, affecting letter to your brother. I bless God, that you live, are so well, and rather get ground as a preacher. This is the great concern of life; and I cannot but think, that if you succeeded more as a preacher, you would succeed and be more happy in other respects. O! labour hard, pray fervently, study diligently and preach affectionately, that this great end may be accomplished. Let me advise you, and let me persuade you, to spend one hour in the week, at least, to examine the *matter*, the *manner*, the length and the spirituality of your sermons and prayers in public, and of your ministerial visits. At the end of this hour, write down the faults or defects of which you are conscious, and the methods which you ought to pursue in order to be more useful; and resolve, at all events, should it cost you your life, to pursue these methods. This will be as profitable an exercise as any in the week, perhaps the most profitable. You must be resolute. You must conquer yourself."

" Is the matter of your preaching evangelical? plain? founded on the positive express testimony of scripture? Is it searching rather than amusing? Is it fundamental? all milk? *Heb. v. 12, 13, 14.* Is your manner easy, simple, affectionate? directed to the heart, in the style of scripture? Do you not preach too long, too loud, too learnedly? Does your conversation, at other times, convince your people that the salvation of their souls is all in all with you. Are all your visits, as well as your sermons, short and sweet? Think and answer."

April 11, 1801.

" I always hear of you, or from you, with much pleasure, though I have sometimes pain by what I hear. Your last gave me a considerable share of both pain and pleasure. Pain to find that you are attended with some disagreeable circumstances, and that these occasion, which is very natural, some uneasiness of mind. But, pleasure, that in the midst of your disagreeables, you are able to tell me, I am persuaded with much truth, that you ' still preach and you hope more evangelically than you once did, and that you think you see some good effects from it, in increasing and attentive congregations, &c.' "

" How far your almost resolution to leave is necessary or prudent, it is impossible for me to say, at this distance. But I can easily admit that something may be said by way of apology for it. Probably when you have submitted the question to conference, some new light may shine. At any rate, remember *Psalm cxii. 4*, ' Unto the upright there ariseth light in darkness.' This will assuredly be verified in your case. I have lately delivered two Tuesday evening exhortations on this sentence, and have reason to believe a divine blessing has attended them to the profit of several."

" You assign reasons for your resolution, which certainly are not destitute of weight. But have you no reason to fear that these or some other reasons may exist in other places? Ah! my dear ——, preachers are not to lie all their lives on beds of down. Wait till your work is done. There will be rest enough in heaven. Now ' endure hardness.' There is no harm in change when necessary. But are you sure that you can do nothing to remove your difficulties? Cannot you, for instance, by close application, make your situation less disagreeable? Cannot you persuade, or allure, or induce, by example, your people and neighbours to co-operate with you? Cannot you bless God for the success you have, and pray and hope for more? Cannot you labour to subdue the aversion of the town's people? Make them believe that Jesus came to save sinners, and you so far ensure their smiles upon yourself and ministry. Try to be less ' unsuitable,' &c."

" After all, perhaps a remove may be necessary; yet do not be hasty. Remember a struggle at —— has peculiar merit: and a little advantage gained there is worth much. I cannot

enlarge. God be with you. If I live till Midsummer, I shall be pleased to have an opportunity of telling your bad people how bad they are, and of shewing them the way to be better."

=====

May 9, 1802.

" Let me again entreat you to study and preach Christ with all your heart and with all your soul, if you wish to be useful. Christ will own and honour you, if you own and honour him."

=====

Nov. 1, 1805.

" I hope you are studying and preaching CHRIST, as ' all in all,' with all your heart and soul: and taking care to honour him in all your conduct; then he will honour you."

=====

March 15, 1811.

" I hope you are going on well in the great things of God, and have done so all the winter. Let me intreat you to keep, above all things, a close attention to your great and glorious work, and your solemn account. In every thing, keep it close to your heart, that Christ is all and in all."

27. TO MR. FR—N.

Mile-End Road, May 20, 1806.

" With great pleasure, though unexpectedly, I received your last. I rejoice exceedingly, in the comfort and success of dear Brother C—; yet on some accounts, it would gratify me to be no more called upon to the solemn and awful work of delivering charges. Your prayer, however, at the end of your letter, affected me, and coincides with many of my own poor prayers: ' May the blessed God increase our capacity—our opportunities—and our willingness to do good.' On the principles implied in this petition, my brother, I have concluded to assist my brethren at L——, if I can."

28. TO THE SAME.

Mile-End Road, Jan. 28, 1806.

" I desire humbly and heartily to congratulate you on the success which the Lord gives you in the work of the ministry! May a great part of those whom you lately baptized, be your

crown in the day of Christ! To be kept humble, lively, spiritual and full of love to Christ and holiness, is indeed, a great thing. Lord grant it to you and me!"

" You see our great man, Mr. Pitt, and several other great men, are dead. Death knows of no distinctions. My old friend, Mr. Booth, died last evening, in his seventy-second year."

29. TO THE SAME.

Mile-End Road, April 25, 1806.

" Accept my wife's respects. Her weakness in her wrists is returned, so that she can scarcely attend to any business. But our heavenly Father does all things well. My daughter has yet the ague, which she brought out of Lincolnshire, the last October. O the blessed morning, mentioned *Phil. iii. 21.* May that be accomplished in me and my beloved brother to whom I now write! Well, 'there remains a rest for the people of God.' "

30. TO MRS. M.

Mile-End Road, May 5, 1806.

" Dear Sister M.

" Thanks for your kind and affectionate letter, received the third instant. Thanks be to God for your prosperity, and that of your family, and especially thanks and praise be given to the God of mercy, for the knowledge that he has given you of himself, and his great salvation: and that he has ever done so unworthy a creature as I am, the great honour of making me in any measure, useful to you or to any other."

" I congratulate you, dear Sister, on your stedfast adherence to those great truths which are the soul's support and comfort, and which I doubt not, will constitute a matter for the eternal melody of heaven. May your soul be supported more and more, by an all-sufficient Jesus, amidst the unavoidable toils, cares and perplexities of your situation, till your adorable Saviour take you to his everlasting rest!"

" I bless God for any favourable appearances in the minds of your dear offspring. I am persuaded, you will continue your labour and prayer for them; and God will hear and help. My

love to them all. Desire them, from me, to get by heart, and often to repeat, and to consider, *Prov.* viii. 17, and *Ecc.* xii. 1. ‘The good Lord bless them all, and their dear parents!’”

31. TO MR. FR—N.

Mile-End Road, Oct. 18, 1806.

“I received your’s and thank you for your good wishes, and manifestations of respect. I have so many of these from all quarters, amidst very great unworthiness and very many defects, that my obligations to the grace and providence of God are innumerable. I trust I feel some gratitude to God and my friends; but I fear, in a very small proportion to what I ought to feel. Lord humble, pardon and quicken me and all my brethren.”

“I am afraid, if I come to H——, as desired, it will be little to your advantage compared with the expence. But if you and the people continue to wish it, I promise, providence permitting, to be with you at the time. It will gratify me. May it profit you.”

32. TO THE SAME.

Mile-End Road, Jan. 5 1807.

“*My dear Brother F.*

“After long expectation, I have received your’s. I was almost ready to fear you or your family were seized with the fever which had brought Master D. so low. I bless the Lord that it is otherwise; and rejoice, that though Mrs. F. and yourself have been ill, you are both better. May our continued lives be spent for him who died for us and rose again.”

“I humbly hope what the Lord has lately and formerly done both for you and me, and our families and friends, will increase our love to him, and confidence in him. I thank the Lord, who enabled you, in your dangerous illness, with so much composure to commit yourself and your’s to him. May this encourage us to ‘trust in the Lord at all times; knowing that in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting strength.’ He is the ‘God of all grace.’ He has given us living grace, blessed be his name; and he can, and I trust will, when necessary, favour us with dying grace. Glory to him!”

33. TO MR. AND MRS. B—L.

*Mile End, Nov, 1, 1808.**“ Dear —.*

I rejoice to hear of you; and especially from you. I bless God that you both can and will do something for Jesus Christ. Let us never forget that he died for our sins, and we owe him our all, and infinitely more. Through divine mercy, I am wonderfully recovered. Two Lord's days I have preached three times a day, I am now come I may say, to the very dregs of life. O that every day and every hour, may be devoted to him who died for me. Take care of your health. Look to Jesus. Watch and pray; and we shall soon meet in glory.”

34. TO HIS BROTHER, MR. J. T.

*Dog-Row, near Mile-End, Nov. 22, 1810.**“ Dear Brother and Sister,*

“ At length I sit down to tell you, that, through the mercy of God, I arrived safe at home on Friday evening, Nov. 2, and found family and friends well, as usual. Blessed be our heavenly Father!”

“ I had to walk from Burnley to Todmorden on the Tuesday afternoon after preaching and ministers' meeting at Burnley. My good friends, James Taylor, H. Hollinrake and J. Hodgson kindly accompanied me. Slept there, and walked to Featherstall, near Rochdale, on Wednesday morning. There waited for the coach. Thence to Manchester, where I spent a few hours very comfortably with Mr. Mouncey and his family. Thence, at one in the afternoon, went off to Birmingham, dined there and went off for London. Thus, ‘hitherto the Lord has helped me.’ May the few remaining days of a poor, short, unprofitable life, be more than ever spent for him that loved me and died for me.”

“ I remember, with peculiar pleasure, my interview with you and my friends in Yorkshire; and especially the favourable appearances of a revival of religion in some places. May the good Lord continue and increase them! May truth, love, peace and purity, ever increase among you all! I particularly bless God that your health is so good, and your comforts are so many. May you long be continued comfortable and useful, and may you in due time, when quite worn down, finish your course with joy!”

"I desire you would give, or send, my love to all my friends in Wadsworth, Slack, Halifax, and elsewhere, and particularly to my worthy and highly esteemed friend and brother, Dr. Fawcett."

"May the God of the spirits of all flesh keep all our hearts in his love!"

35. TO MRS. M. AND MRS. N.

Mile-End Road, April 4, 1815.

"Dear Sisters,

"We have been taking a survey of our church, and the state of its members. Not a few of these are in the country, to whom therefore, I am requested to write. You are two of that number. I hope you are prospering in your souls, and blessing God for the riches of his grace, and the fullness and freeness of his glorious salvation. May you ever grow in grace, more and more! I hope the distance of your habitation does not alienate your hearts from your brethren and sisters. Though far distant; we still belong to the same family, and are even members of the same Body. God forbid that we should ever forget our near relation! But our relation to our blessed Lord Jesus, our glorious Saviour, is still incomparably nearer, he condescends to call himself our elder brother. Adored be his ever blessed name! May we ever trust him, love him, and be devoted to him. He considers himself as in the tenderest relation to us—our friend, our husband, our flesh, &c. Glory be to his great name! Whatever we think or speak of, let Christ be to us, all and in all."

"I hope to receive a letter or two from you soon; telling me that you are happy in communion with the Lord Jesus, and in the prospect of living and reigning eternally with him, in his kingdom."

"We have had rather a flagging year. The world sadly eats out the power and spirit of religion. The Lord enable you to live above the world more than many of us do! Times are rather alarming; but the Lord reigns and will be near to them that trust in him. I trust you are able to consider the precious promises of scripture, and to bring them often home to your hearts. They are the words of a faithful God, and firm as the pillars of heaven. In due time, we shall find them all accomplished, to our everlasting comfort and joy."

“ I desire you would present my kindest love and sincerest respects to my dear old friend Mr. M—; to all your young people, both male and female, desiring them all to consider, apply and practice, *Prov.* viii. 17. *Isaiah* lv. 6. and similar passages of scripture—to Mr. B—, and any of your acquaintance who know me. The earnest prayers of the Apostle, in *1 Thess.* iii. 11—13. *Heb.* xiii. 20, 21. and many of the like kind; I would offer up to the God of all grace in your behalf; and hope to meet you in that world where darkness, sin and misery can never come: where

‘ A day without night, we shall spend in his sight;
For eternity is but a day.’

“ In the prospect of this eternally glorious day, and for ever,
I am, my dear sisters, your’s very truly, &c.

SECTION III. *A Review of the Character of the late Mr. D. TAYLOR, as a Man, a Scholar, a Christian, a Minister, a Tutor, and an Author.*

AFTER perusing the foregoing *Memoir*, especially as illustrated by the *Extracts*, it is hoped that the reader will be able to form for himself a tolerably accurate portrait of the Character of the worthy individual who is the subject of it. But it may not be improper to close this volume with a short review of its prominent features; as it may afford an opportunity of noticing several particulars and giving some explanations, which could not so properly be introduced in the narrative. We shall endeavour to be just; and in order to correct any partiality to which our high esteem for his memory might subject us, we shall in general, adopt the sentiments of others who may be less suspected of undue feelings towards the deceased.

When we view him as a *Man*, the first thing that arrests our attention is the extraordinary strength of his bodily frame. His stature was low; but he was strong built: and as he had from his infancy been accustomed to fatigue, he could support an unusual degree of corporeal exertion. And to the last year of his life, he disdained the idea of sparing himself.

His efforts in preaching the gospel, founding churches and watering them, in Yorkshire, were almost incredible. His labours, cares and travels in forming the New Connection of General Baptists and promoting its interests, were arduous and incessant. His journeys to Associations, Conferences, Ordinations, opening of New Meeting-Houses, &c. &c. exceeded those of most ministers;* and were always undertaken with cheerfulness and performed with alacrity. His numerous publications and his extensive correspondence must also occupy no small portion of his time and attention. And, when we reflect too, that, through almost the whole of his life, he was obliged to pursue some secular business, in order to provide for the support of his family; and that the labours of the farm, the school, or the shop were added to those of the ministry, we admire the strength of body that could support all the fatigues which he sustained. Had not his constitution been strong and his health good, nature would have sunk under the attempt; and death, or premature old age, have released him from his labours. But his vigour remained unimpaired till he had passed his seventieth year; and, even in the last stage of life, he retained a degree of strength and nerve which was frequently the object of admiration to intelligent observers.

The strongest corporeal powers, however, could not have carried him through all this toil, had he not also possessed a *vigorous, active, and enterprizing disposition* of mind. In whatever he undertook, this appeared manifest. When he first settled in Wadsworth, he had almost every difficulty to encounter; but his ardour surmounted them all. He drew the plans for a meeting-house, assisted in digging the stone from the quarry, superintended and co-operated in the building of it; and, when finished, laboured in it as a minister, with the same zeal which he

* During the course of his ministry, Mr. D. Taylor assisted at thirty-eight Ordinations; attended fifty-three Associations, and probably two hundred conferences; and preached, upon a very moderate computation, nearly twenty thousand discourses. Besides the Ordinations which are mentioned in the preceding Memoirs, Mr. T. about 1790, gave an excellent charge to Mr. J. Hobbs, at Chatham. In 1777, he addressed the people at Long Sutton, when Mr. H. Poole was ordained over them. In 1780, he delivered a charge to Mr. R. Folds, at Burnley; and, in 1791, another to Mr. Thomas Pickering, at Castle Donington. And, about the same time, he was engaged in giving a charge to Mr. Waterman, an Independent minister, at Queen Street, Ratcliff, London.

had displayed in forwarding its erection. When he first entered on farming, he evinced a similar spirit. He removed fences, eradicated bushes; and, from his acquaintance with mining, projected and executed an excellent plan for watering his land, which was at first thought impracticable and laughed at by the most intelligent of his neighbours. He greatly improved the house, rebuilding the chimney, turning an useless passage into a commodious study, and making an out-house a decent school-room. And the best judges allowed, that his activity and judgment materially increased the value of the farm. In all agricultural employments he excelled; and could plow and reap with as much skill and expedition, as those who had devoted their whole attention to such pursuits. Many anecdotes, illustrating and confirming this observation, are still told by the aged persons in the vicinity of Birchcliff. We mention one: It was usual, they say, with him, when labouring with other reapers, to push forward his work, and get before his companions: and then to take out his book, sit down on a sheaf, and read till they reached him.

To activity and ardour of mind were united in the subject of this sketch remarkable *decision* and unwearyed *perseverance*. Difficulties only roused him to greater exertions, and inflamed his zeal; while delay seemed to encrease his resolution to persevere. He undertook nothing in a careless undecided manner. Having once ascertained the path of duty, he pursued it with all the ardour of his soul; and was determined, at all events, to reach the goal to which it led. We have heard him advise a young minister to adopt certain plans of improvement, "and then," said he, "resolve, if it cost you your life, to pursue those plans." This was the principle upon which he acted. His determination was to perform what he thought to be his duty; and leave ease, convenience and even life itself as secondary considerations. He selected certain objects to be attained, and fixed on the means of obtaining them; and then suffered neither difficulty nor danger to hinder him from pursuing those objects by those means. To this steady, resolute and unwavering temper, we are indebted for all that Mr. T. was enabled to perform for the glory of his God and the good of his fellow creatures. And, it is hoped, that the success, with which it pleased the Lord to crown this plan, will encourage others, especially young

ministers to imitate his example. Nothing has a more direct tendency to hinder usefulness and destroy respect than fickleness or irresolution. He who abandons an undertaking because it is difficult, or grows discontented, and remiss because success does not immediately crown even diligence and zeal, will seldom gain the esteem of the wise, or accomplish any object of worth or magnitude.

Another distinguishing trait in the character of Mr. D. Taylor was an *intrepidity* of mind, that raised him, in a great measure, above the fear of man. This doubtless might be ascribed partly to a natural courage, which enabled him to brave dangers and difficulties without dismay; yet it was evidently in him supported by nobler motives. A deep reverence for the authority of God, a full persuasion of the duty and advantage of doing his will, and a steady confidence in his protection and favour while conscientiously employed in his service, were the chief sources of that fearlessness which characterized his progress through life. Whenever circumstances called him to determine between pleasing his fellow creatures and offending his Maker, his decision was prompt and unchangeable; and he appealed to the authority of his blessed Saviour for the propriety of it. "Fear not," said that divine Teacher, "them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." On this rational principle, he had defiance to the frowns of men; and proceeded, without regard to consequences, in what he esteemed the path of duty. When Luther was entreated by his friends not to risque his safety by attending the diet at Worms, he replied: "I am lawfully called to appear in that city; and thither I will go, in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses were combined against me." A similar spirit animated the subject of this Memoir. Neither the dread of the disapprobation of men, nor the malice of the powers of darkness, could deter him from performing what he conceived to be the will of his Maker.

This undaunted disposition, joined to an inflexible principle of integrity, inspired him with an unconquerable abhorrence of all trick, subterfuge or policy: and led him openly to avow and directly to pursue the objects at which he aimed. In some cases, this unyielding temper gave needless pain to his friends, as a

more accommodating course might, with equal certainty and less offence, have accomplished his purposes. Like the apostle of the Gentiles, he would not give place by subjection, even for an hour, to any man, when the truth of the gospel required his support; but it must be confessed, that he could not, like him, so easily "become all things to all men, that he might by any means save some." Yet justice requires us to add, that this inflexibility was only exercised when he thought the truth of the gospel or the honour of God was concerned. When his own indulgence or gratification was the only sacrifice required, he was always ready to submit to the prejudices of weak christians. Numerous instances of this might be adduced; but one may suffice. He was convinced that the eating of blood was not universally forbidden; yet from his first profession of religion to his death, he scrupulously abstained from it; lest "his weak brother should be grieved; and he should destroy, with his meat, him for whom Christ had died."

Mr. T. was naturally *affectionate*; and his affections, like all his other passions, were strong. This is evident from the warmth of attachment to many of his correspondents which animates the Extracts in the preceding pages. His friendships were ardent and lasting. In the course of his history, few of those distressing breaches occur, which are painfully frequent in the lives of some great and good men. Intimacies, formed in youth were generally cherished in mature years, and only suspended by death. The attentive reader must have remarked with pleasure numerous instances of this nature, in following this good man through the several periods of his pilgrimage. Nor were his friendships confined to those of his own denomination: many who differed materially from him in points of doctrine, enjoyed a high place in his esteem and cordially returned his friendship.

His affection for his family was ardent, and, when called into exercise by any circumstance that required it, conspicuous. When any of his immediate connections were in affliction, his anxiety was apparent, and his attentions assiduous. He nursed them, watched over them, and prayed for them with the most tender solicitude. It has been asserted, that, during the fever which attacked his family in 1790, he never put off his clothes, except for the purpose of changing them, during the period of

six weeks. But his real disposition in this respect was liable, by superficial observers, to be misunderstood. His thoughts were so constantly engrossed and his time so completely occupied by subjects which he esteemed of the highest importance, that, at seasons of health and prosperity, he had neither leisure nor vacancy of mind for those little attentions and assiduities, by which persons less engaged often gain a high reputation for tenderness. As he was obliged to employ every cranny of his time, he usually had his book in his hand when he was present in the domestic circle. His children were kept silent through a fear of interrupting his studies, and thus prevented from cultivating that endearing intimacy with him, so essential to the comfort and so important to the welfare of a family. This restraint produced an air of distance and reserve, which had an ungracious appearance to strangers, and doubtless operated to the disadvantage of all parties. There is, however, every reason to conclude, that this unhappy consequence was wholly unintentional on the part of the father; and possibly never remarked by him; but its effects were not, on that account, the less injurious.

His *intellectual faculties* were of a superior order. Their principal excellencies were clearness, strength and solidity. If genius consist in dressing ideas in uncommon and vivid colours, or combining them with taste and forming striking and unexpected images, it must be confessed that Mr. T. did not possess it in a high degree, nor perhaps aspire after it. But, if it intend a clearness of perception, by which a subject is easily and accurately comprehended; a justness of reasoning by which its properties are discovered and its bearings and consequences ascertained, and a facility of inference by which its importance and application are demonstrated, the worthy subject of this Memoir certainly was favoured with a large share of genius. His judgment was the leading faculty of his mind, and kept him at the farthest distance from being led astray by his imagination. At his first setting out in the ministry, he was in some danger of giving too much rein to his fancy in illustrating the scriptures; but he appears early to have seen the impropriety of following such a guide; and resolved, with his usual decision of character, entirely to discard her, and every thing connected with her. From this time, he sought for truth and reason; and stripping the subjects which he examined of all their adventitious ornaments,

he exhibited them in their original simplicity. His attainments therefore were more valuable than shining; better adapted to excite the approbation of the judicious, than to please the curious or allure the votaries of taste. But, when we contrast the little leisure and the slender assistance which he enjoyed, with the extensive knowledge which he acquired, we are compelled to allow him the praise of original and superior mental powers, as well as of intense application.

It is not supposed that Mr. T. attained a high degree of eminence in polite or classical learning. At one part of his life, it is evident, that he possessed an acquaintance with the latin, greek and hebrew languages, that enabled him to read them with facility and discrimination. But it is probable, that his knowledge of the heathen classics was neither accurate nor extensive. Virgil among the latin poets, and Xenophon among the greek historians, were his peculiar favourites; and were probably his principal pagan acquaintance. He had, when engaged as a schoolmaster, paid some attention to the mathematics, and understood the parts of them necessary for common purposes. At the same period, he appears to have read some authors on natural philosophy and its dependent sciences. We have not, however, any evidence, that he devoted much time to these studies: and it is presumed that he knew little of the improvements and discoveries in these parts of knowledge, that have distinguished modern professors.

But it was in *Theology* and every thing that could assist in the prosecution of the study of it, that he peculiarly excelled. This he considered the great business of his life, and to this he devoted all his powers. With a view chiefly to this, he cultivated the learned languages; and with the same view, he pursued the study of his own. To promote this object, he perused in early life, with care and method, the writings of the ancient greek and latin fathers in their own languages—carefully investigated the history of past ages—the manners and customs, the rites and ceremonies, the religion and polities of the nations of antiquity, especially such as were connected with the history, the prophecy, or the doctrine of the Bible—acquired an accurate knowledge of scripture geography and chronology—read, with attention, modern history, as connected with the progress of christianity—and made himself extensively acquainted with ecclesiastical his-

tory. But all his other acquirements were designed to enable him to study the pages of Revelation with more advantage; and to this object he rendered them all subservient. He read the sacred oracles in their original languages with diligence and care. These were his daily study, and nothing was suffered to divert him from the regular pursuit of it. He procured and assiduously perused the best commentators on the scriptures, both ancient and modern. He was familiar with most of the valuable authors on Theology; and ignorant of few important transactions or publications connected with religion.

His success amply rewarded his perseverance and zeal. His acquisitions in theological science were the admiration of his cotemporaries, and remain the theme of praise to survivors. One of his worthy fellow labourers, who had the best opportunities for observation, and is well qualified to judge, writes in this strain. "Mr. T.'s knowledge of the doctrines of the Bible was remarkable. He was a scribe well instructed into the kingdom of God, who brought out of his treasure things new and old. He had studied the scriptures with such persevering application, that he appeared almost equally familiar with every part of them." "As a theologian," says another minister, who was well acquainted with Mr. T. "I sincerely think he had few equals. His general, extensive and critical knowledge of the scriptures, rendered him truly eminent. Scarcely was a subject to be mentioned in the whole range of divinity which he had not studied, and upon which he was not able to speak with propriety."

It may perhaps be useful to enquire by what means a person with so few advantages and so closely engaged, as this venerable minister was, could attain to this eminent knowledge in divine things. There can be no doubt but he owed much to nature, or rather to the God of nature, for superior intellectual faculties, without which it would have been impossible, in any circumstances or with any advantages, to have made that proficiency to which he attained. His progress was also greatly accelerated by his natural intrepidity, which animated him to encounter and surmount difficulties that to weaker minds would have been insurmountable. A persevering and diligent application likewise contributed in no small degree to enlarge his mental treasures, and render him a good minister of Christ Jesus. But, from a

careful review of his life, his papers and his publications, it appears to us, that his superior attainments were chiefly to be ascribed to his having, through the whole course of his life, one principal object in view, and uniformly pursuing that object with an undeviating and steady attention. From his first setting out in religion, he appears to have resolved, by divine assistance, to become a good minister of the gospel: and this resolution he ever afterwards prosecuted with undiverted zeal, in defiance of difficulties on the one hand, or allurements on the other. It certainly required a sanguine temper for a youth, circumstanced as he was, without instructors, without books, without leisure and without friends, to look forward to eminence as a minister. He must anticipate many obstacles which would demand all his firmness and address to remove. These obstacles were increased by his encumbering himself in early life with the cares and expences of a family. Yet he persevered: he procured books, sought out instructors, created leisure by extraordinary diligence and exertion, and pursued the necessary studies with an ardour natural to his character. In a word, he exemplified the advice which he afterwards gave to his pupils. "In all things, be resolved to conquer; and persevere till you have conquered. Without this you may be a gaudy butter-fly; but never, like the bee, will your hive bear examining."

On the other hand, with a decided taste for general knowledge, and a capacity to receive and relish it, this good man was obliged to maintain a conscientious and regular exercise of self denial, to preserve his attention from being drawn aside to studies and pursuits which, however pleasing and even laudable in themselves, would have encroached on his time, and diverted him from subjects more closely connected with his grand object. He was often called to struggle with his inclinations; and, with the cup of knowledge at his lips and a strong desire to drain it to the very dregs, forced, by the stern dictates of duty, to turn his head away and leave the much loved draught untasted.

We notice this trait in Mr. T.'s character as an example to young ministers in similar circumstances. Long and diligent observation has fully persuaded us, that an imitation of his conduct would greatly increase their respectability and usefulness. There is no temptation by which an inquisitive young minister is more likely to be injured, than by an attempt to obtain a

general acquaintance with science and literature. A person who has all his time to devote to study and has enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, may perhaps indulge himself in a pursuit of this nature without materially interrupting his studies for the ministry. But this is not the case with many of the ministers of the new Connection. Most of them have to commence their studies when arrived at years of maturity; and are surrounded with avocations on every side. If they intend to be workmen that need not to be ashamed, they must, like the respectable minister of whom we are speaking, resolutely deny themselves; and devote their undivided attention to those subjects which will increase their knowledge of divine things, and assist them in understanding and explaining the holy scriptures.

It may indeed be asserted that Mr. T.'s distinguishing excellence as a theologian was a *strict adherence to the scriptures* and a *reverential regard to their authority*. In every thing relating to the concerns of religion, he not only considered them as the standard of doctrine and practice, but deemed it improper to resort to any other authority. He frequently repeated with marks of approbation the saying of a countryman, who hearing a preacher frequently introduce the phrase "I think," called out in the midst of the sermon, 'What signifies it what thou thinkest? tell us what God says.' He reprobated, in the strongest terms, tampering with scripture doctrines or even with scripture language. It has been remarked, by some who cannot be suspected of partiality for his memory, but who enjoyed good opportunities for observation, that the same honest intrepidity which was conspicuous in his general conduct, distinguished his expositions of scripture; and that he fearlessly gave what appeared to him the true meaning of the sacred writer, whether it made for or against his system. This he esteemed an indispensable part of ministerial fidelity: and frequently inculcated it, with the greatest earnestness, on young ministers. In a charge to Mr. H. he exhorts. "Give me leave to press it on you to speak to your hearers, on all subjects in the language of scripture. Invite to what the scripture invites; exhort where that exhorts, and describe where that describes. There is no rule safer than this. By a deviation from it, we are frequently led into errors. The scriptures positively speak of election and reprobation:

and therefore, on all proper occasions, so should we. The scriptures positively declare that Jesus is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and tasted death for every man; and therefore so should we. Now suppose there were any difficulty in understanding or in reconciling these or any other remarkable expressions, or the great doctrines contained in them, surely to turn the scriptures into a new style and language can never be a safe way of attempting it. Let the Lord speak in his own way, and let all the earth sit silent at his feet. Let those who are called to plead his cause, use *his* language and speak *his* word to the people; whether they will hear or whether they will forbear. I am persuaded, that this is the very way to understand the mind of God, and to avoid those difficulties that may occur in the study of it. But should it be otherwise, we had a thousand times better acknowledge our ignorance and remain ignorant of many things, than change the language of the scriptures in order to accommodate them to our pre-conceived notions, or to the prejudices of mankind. The language of God is the fittest to convey his own mind. There is such a precision in scripture language, that it cannot easily be changed for any other."—So profound was the veneration which this good man felt for the very words of Revelation, that being once afflicted with a complaint in his eyes, and fearing the loss of sight, he determined to commit the whole Bible to memory; and had actually accomplished part of his design when his recovery dissipated his apprehensions.

By these means he attained an acquaintance with the sacred oracles and an understanding in them, which excited the admiration of all who knew him. So early as 1792, his abilities as an expositor were so highly appreciated, that the Leicestershire and Lincolnshire Conferences united in requesting him to publish a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. It appears from his papers, that he made some attempts at a work of this nature; but his many avocations rendered it impossible even for him to make much progress in it. Had he been able to have completed such an undertaking, with sufficient care and leisure, it would, doubtless, have been a valuable production, and formed a pleasing contrast to some system-cramped commentaries which are extant.

It might be proper to introduce here a statement of the system

of doctrines which Mr. T. had drawn from this assiduous and conscientious perusal of the Word of God. To do justice, however, to an attempt of this nature, would require more room than our limits will allow. It is the less necessary, as his opinions on the most important articles of faith have already been stated in the course of the work: and the Confession of Faith which he read to the church on his settling in London, has lately been published.* It may also be presumed that few who will read this volume, are unacquainted with his works. Leaving therefore his creed, we proceed in tracing his character.

Mr. T. was *steady in his opinions*. Perhaps few divines who read and disputed so much as he did, maintained a greater uniformity in his views. When he first began to think on religious subjects, he was opposed to the doctrines of high calvinism. Soon afterwards he became a conscientious baptist. He was, at that period, a decided advocate for the divinity and atonement of Christ, and justification through faith in him. And he continued, with unwavering attachment, to profess and defend the same important doctrines till death removed him to the realms of light. It was indeed asserted, in an unitarian miscellany, soon after his decease, that "of late years, he had been heard to express respect for some members of the old connection, to whom his zeal for a higher system of orthodoxy caused him to appear for a time hostile."† The unfounded insinuation contained in this sentence might be sufficiently repelled by referring to the last edition of his "*Principal Parts of the Christian Religion*," published in 1802; or to "*Jesus the only begotten Son of God*," published in 1809. But we venture to subjoin two extracts from letters of a still later date. In writing to a young minister for whom he had a peculiar affection, May 3, 1811, he says: "I think you should immediately see the people at R—, and very frankly and affectionately explain all to them, and do all you can for them. But I should say, *keep far from all connection with Arians and Socinians*." In a letter, dated Aug. 12, 1812, to a correspondent who had published an essay against the Socinians, he observes: "I thank you for your useful pamphlet, which I had read with great pleasure long before I received your gift. I, for one, sincerely thank you for

* *History of the English General Baptists*, Vol. II. pp. 470—477.

† *Monthly Repository*, Dec. 1816, page 730.

publishing it, for the benefit of our connection and others. I trust God will bless it to the souls of many. You will probably meet opposition; but I fear no refutation, if you keep your present ground. Indeed on *no* ground are the Socinians to be feared."

Mr. T.'s steady uniformity in his sentiments did not proceed from an indolent acquiescence in his own opinions, or an unwillingness to examine the arguments of others. We have seen that he studied both sides of the question respecting baptism, before he decided. And evidence is not wanting, that he perused and carefully examined most publications of importance from the pens of those who differed from him. Thus, when Mr. Winchester began to preach universal restoration, he sought for writers on the subject, ancient and modern, and carefully perused all he could obtain, long before he had formed any intention of entering the lists with that author. His steadfastness in the faith proceeded from an impartial study of the word of God, and a reverential regard to its authority. This gave decision as well as uniformity to his sentiments. He had carefully investigated the evidence on which he adopted them, and was fully convinced that they were built on the oracles of truth. Being well persuaded of this, he laid aside all fear of man; and delivered his opinions with an air of boldness and certainty, which, to those unacquainted with his character, appeared arrogant and dogmatical, and has been thus represented. It was, however, the natural effect of clear conception and full conviction, joined to his constitutional courage and habitual zeal for the honour of God. It must be allowed, that no man knew better how to humble arrogance or expose ignorance than he did; but he seldom availed himself of these powers, unless when folly and insolence required their exercise.

But while he was thus decided in his own opinions, he maintained a *candid* and *liberal* spirit towards those who differed from him, if he thought they sincerely loved the Saviour and sought his glory. We have, in tracing his history, seen that he was in habits of the most friendly intimacy with ministers, of sentiments widely distant from his own. The reader will instantly recollect Mr. Foster, of the established church; Drs. Stennett and Fawcett, Messrs. Booth, Austin, Sutcliff, &c. among the particular baptists; Mr. Kello, Dr. Collyer and

many other independents. For several of these, he preached funeral sermons, and bore the most unqualified testimony to their excellence as christians and as ministers. His character of Dr. Stennett has been long before the public; and extracts from it are needless. When Mr. Booth was called to his reward, Mr. T. paid a tribute of respect to his memory, in a sermon from *1 Pet. v. 4*: in the introduction to which he observed: "Besides the common bond of union subsisting among all christians, especially all gospel ministers, there are peculiar ties between some individuals. Many of you well know that this was the case between Mr. Booth and myself. For almost forty years, we have maintained a very cordial friendship; which, I believe, has never been interrupted by one unpleasant word or shy or unkind look. For thirty-seven years, we have materially differed in our judgments on one branch of evangelical truth. At the time when he began to hesitate on the subject, he kindly paid me a visit in Yorkshire, before he came to reside in London; preached for me, and spent a night with me; when we had some free conversation on the subject. Our interviews since then have been frequent; and, especially since my removal to the metropolis, some of them have been of considerable length. But I do not remember, that the subject to which I now refer has been once mentioned, at any one interview, for thirty-seven years or more. This was not because either of us considered it a matter of indifference; we both esteemed it important; but thought that on other subjects on which we were agreed, we could converse with more pleasure and to greater advantage. My friend, with whom I have spent many agreeable and profitable hours, is now gone. Had he not earnestly requested that nothing might be said of his character or conduct, our text would have furnished many reflections on them to his honour as an under shepherd, adapted to excite in us an endeavour to imitate him, and finally terminating in the honour and glory of our adorable Redeemer, the "great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls." We cannot, however, enjoy this advantage under the present restraint."

The testimony of Mr. Kello, the venerable independent minister who so affectionately paid the last tribute of respect over the grave of the subject of this Memoir, coincides with the spirit of the above extract. In a communication, with which he

has kindly favoured the author, he says: " My acquaintance with the late Mr. T. commenced in the year 1792. Antecedent to that period, a great prejudice against him possessed my own mind, through unfavourable representations made by others. These, however, I must observe, did not arise from any charge implying a defect in his moral conduct; but only that his views and preaching were deficient in point of evangelical savour."

" A personal acquaintance soon removed my prejudices. One circumstance had a very great influence in promoting an union and affection between us, viz. the appointment of our weekly meetings for prayer, at a period when the state of our nation was peculiarly critical and alarming. In these he united most cordially, sanctioned them by the frequency of his attendance, and his readiness to engage in their services, and was much grieved by the circumstances that led to their discontinuance. During the period of our acquaintance, our friendship was intimate and uninterrupted. A perfect unison in our views of some points exhibited in divine revelation did not exist; but while an adherence to the grand truths, which are the foundation of a christian's faith and hope was maintained, this difference did not interrupt our christian affection. It afforded an opportunity for the exercise of that mutual candour and charity which are so needful and beneficial, in a state where imperfection remains, and attendant darkness prevents our seeing eye to eye. The difference indeed only respects smaller matters. The unction of the Holy Spirit leads all his people into an acquaintance with the truths connected with salvation. Under the influence of this christian disposition, our reciprocal friendly regards were promoted, strengthened and confirmed; till the stroke of death cut the knot; and, as to a present world, separated us for ever. His memory perisheth not. Pleasing are the recollections of him to us, and highly honorable to his reputation."

Mr. T.'s conduct through the whole course of his ministry perfectly exemplified the character which his friend has given of him. He held his own sentiments with a firm grasp. He esteemed them important, because he thought them the truths of God. He also paid that respect to the dictates of common sense as to allow, that if one of two opposite propositions be established, the other must fall: and, as he was fully convinced that his own opinions were founded on scripture,

he hesitated not to declare that the sentiments which opposed them were erroneous. But then he well knew and readily admitted, that every other man had an equal right, with himself, to form his own judgment, according to the best of his ability, from his own sense of the word of God. He therefore never condemned, or even blamed, others for thinking differently from him, or opposing his views on disputed points. In one of his polemical tracts, he thus spiritedly repels the insinuation of his antagonist, that a person deserves reproof for vindicating what he believes to be truth. "Why deserve reproof, Sir? Admitting you are in the right, do people deserve reproof for being mistaken, or for propagating what they believe to be truth? Are we returned to Rome? Who has placed you in the chair of his Holiness, to reprove those, who in your opinion are mistaken? To talk of any man deserving reproof because he propagates what he believes to be right, however mistaken, is to strike at the root of the Protestant cause, and to attempt the establishment of that destructive principle which is the very basis of popery. If I deserve reproof from you, I deserve, on the same principle, the gibbet, or the fire of Smithfield from the civil magistrate. No argument can be advanced to prove, that any man deserves reproof for publishing his religious sentiments, which will not equally vindicate and sanctify all the fines and imprisonments, the racks and the various tortures, the fires and the faggots, the halters and the gibbets, and every diabolical invention which has been used to oppose the truth, and to suppress liberty of conscience from the creation of the world to the present moment."*

Mr. Kello alludes to some prejudices which had existed in his mind respecting Mr. T.'s views on evangelical subjects. These prejudices had probably arisen from the unhappy fact, that most of the General Baptists in and near London had sadly declined from the sound principles of their predecessors on several of the most fundamental doctrines of the gospel. It was therefore to be expected, as Mr. T. was styled a General Baptist, and was pastor of a General Baptist church, that, till his opinions were known, he should be suspected of the same errors. This was the case for some time; and it is likely that his character suffered, and his usefulness was circumscribed by

* *Second Dissertation on Singing*, pp. 15, 16.

this suspicion. And when his sentiments were more justly appreciated, as the New Connection was then very little known in the Metropolis, it was matter of surprize that such a man could remain among the General Baptists. The writer of these pages has frequently had the mortification of hearing remarks of this nature from intelligent dissenting ministers. It is hoped, that the character and opinions of the New Connection begin to be more correctly understood amongst professors of other denominations. May this Memoir be the means of rendering them yet better known.

Though Mr. T. often appeared before the public as an *Author*, yet he ought to be considered rather as an *actor* than as a *writer*. Most of his works were composed, on some temporary occasion, at the call of the moment, and amidst other avocations more than sufficient to engage all his attention. He could never apply his thoughts uninterruptedly to a subject; but was obliged to pursue it at detached, and often distant, portions of leisure. In such circumstances, it is almost impossible for the most active and intelligent mind, in all instances, to preserve a proper connection, or to guard always against repetition. His "Principal Parts of the Christian Religion," "Essay on Inspiration," "Charge to Mr. Deacon," and "Consistent Christian," appear to have been the most laboured of his compositions; and furnish the fairest specimens of his worth and abilities as an author. And, if clearness of method, perspicuity of style, and strength of reasoning, joined to an evident desire to benefit the reader, can preserve works from oblivion, these will long remain as memorials of the industry, the piety, the philanthropy and superior endowments of their author. A few of his smaller pieces have lost much of their interest, because the circumstances which occasioned them have passed away. But many even of these will always be edifying and important, on account of the piety, good sense and scriptural instruction and admonition with which they abound.

It is obvious, that neither avarice nor vanity incited this good man to write for the public. The low price at which his works were sold, sufficiently proves that profit was not his object. The subjects which he chose, though of the utmost importance to perishing sinners, were not adapted to obtain popular favour; and the plain, honest, searching style which he adopted,

as well as the manner in which he introduced his tracts to the public, was little calculated to allure the multitude. His obvious intention was to do good—to promote the happiness of his fellow creatures and the glory of his God—to defend some truth which he deemed important, or to guard against some error which he esteemed dangerous. To accomplish these purposes, he sacrificed ease, leisure, and often property itself: for he was always ready, from principle, to sacrifice his all when the cause of God required it.

As Mr. T. sincerely wished to be useful, he laboured to be intelligible. “What do you preach for, but to benefit your people?” he observed to a young minister. “And how can they be benefited unless they understand you?” His endeavour therefore, both in writing and preaching, was to exemplify the advice which he frequently gave to others, “to speak, not only so as that you may be understood, but so as that you cannot be misunderstood.” With this view, he avoided every ambiguous expression, every figure of speech, every species of great, learned or affected phraseology; and, with unpitying hand, sacrificed ornament and shew to perspicuity and usefulness. Like the great apostle of the gentiles, whom he resembled in many other particulars, he “used great plainness of speech.”

Many of Mr. T.’s works were *controversial*: and as long as the peculiar doctrines which distinguish the denomination to which he belonged are properly estimated, these masterly defences of them will be highly valued. Modern candour has indeed rendered it almost unfashionable to avow, much less to attempt to defend, the points on which I differ from my neighbour. The popular wish now is that all professors of every description may amalgamate into one harmonious mass, in which, sinking all points of difference, they may quietly unite on the few articles in which they all agree. Mr. T. had too much wisdom and piety to join in this prayer. He knew that, in this case, there would remain nothing as the basis of union. He was persuaded, that to attempt such a project would require a sacrifice of principle which would weaken, if not destroy, the moral rectitude of the mind. In his estimation, every revealed truth was important, because it was revealed by a God of infinite wisdom and love; and he felt it to be his duty to defend it. Every error, he considered as injurious; and he conscientiously

opposed it. He recollects that the blessed book to which he professed implicit obedience had exhorted Christians, on proper occasions, to *contend earnestly* for the faith which was once delivered to the saints. And therefore, though he always professed, and probably with the greatest sincerity, a disinclination to controversy, yet he stood ready, whenever he thought duty required it, to enter the lists with any one who opposed what he believed to be the truth. In several instances, there is abundant evidence, that he took up the pen, through a sense of duty, with unaffected reluctance, when it would have been much more agreeable to his private feelings to have stood aloof from the contest.

His controversy was always with opinions, and not with persons. He confined himself to argument, and endeavoured to defend the truth in the spirit of meekness. Though his feelings were strong and his passions ardent, and, in some instances, the conduct of his adversaries afforded him sufficient provocation; yet he kept such a guard over his natural temper, that, by the assistance of divine grace, he seldom gave just occasion of offence to his antagonist. Seldom indeed, unless in self defence, did he descend to personalities; but kept close to the subject, and conducted the debate with candour and respect. The happy result was, that he usually made friends of his opponents; many of whom would have heartily joined with Mr. Fuller, who at the close of their protracted dispute publickly declared: "Whatever I may think of his sentiments, my good opinion of Mr. T.'s integrity and piety is not lessened by this controversy."

In conducting a controversy, as well as in every thing else of a religious nature, the holy scriptures were his sole authority. He stated the truth for which he contended or the error which he opposed, with clearness and simplicity; and then endeavoured to defend the one or refute the other, by express scripture testimony, or by plain inference from scripture. When he had done this, he considered his work finished. Objections, reasonings and hypotheses he little regarded: he esteemed them inapplicable to the subject. A plain evidence that God had said it, was, with him, a sufficient answer to them all. He seldom, therefore, introduced such modes of argument, or took much notice of them if adopted by his antagonists. Sometimes

indeed to gratify a friend, or to meet an adversary on his own ground, he would engage in discussions of this nature: and on such occasions, he succeeded as well as could be expected from a combatant who was fighting with weapons of which he disapproved. But when his scripture testimony was attacked, he thought it necessary to be serious and in earnest. Then he acquitted himself like a combatant well assured of the goodness of his cause, perfectly acquainted with the means of defence, and familiar with the use of his weapons.

The following short extracts from the communications of the surviving fellow labourers of Mr. T. will shew in what estimation his polemical abilities were held by his friends. "Mr. T." observes one "was, in my view, a great man and a close reasoner; and there are but few, if any, of my acquaintance to whom I would sooner have intrusted a dispute upon any theological subject than to him." "As he well understood the doctrines of the Bible," remarks another, "it was impossible he should not feel their importance. He of course held them firmly; and when he conceived that duty required it of him, he was never backward to defend them, either in conversation or from the press. The ability with which he did the latter, his controversial writings will abundantly testify: as would also the acknowledgements made to him by some of his opponents, as to the information they had received from his animadversions." "Few men," says a third, "were better able to defend what he thought to be truth or to find out the weakness of an antagonist. In this respect, he has done much for the cause of Christ, and especially for the General Baptist cause: for which his name ought to be held in everlasting remembrance and profound veneration." "Steady to his principles," says Mr. Kello, "and acting according to his light in the word of God, he was strenuous in their defence. On different occasions, he stood forth in defence of revealed truths, highly important in the christian scheme, when they have been assailed by adversaries; and nobly has he defended them, by weapons furnished him by the word of God. To him the members of the Connection with whom he was associated looked up with deference, esteem and expectation. With their requests he was ever ready to comply; and the trust which they reposed in him, was ever punctually executed."

Mr. T. like most others who have been in the habits of composition, wrote much more than he published. His time, however, was too closely occupied to permit him to employ any considerable portion of it for his own gratification, in writing on subjects to which duty did not call him. A few valuable manuscripts were found among his papers, which may perhaps enrich a future edition of his works; but the great majority consisted of indigested and uninteresting *memoranda*. His correspondence also was extensive; and, as may be perceived from the extracts inserted in the foregoing pages, highly valuable. Often indeed he had only leisure to state the occasion of his writing, with the utmost brevity, and then closing his letter, to turn to some other engagement. But in his shortest and most hurried epistles, he seldom failed to drop some valuable hint of an instructive, admonitory or consolatory nature; which were frequently peculiarly suited to the age or circumstances of his correspondent. His longer letters were often very interesting; especially such as he wrote in answer to cases of difficulty from churches and individuals. In this labour of love, he was constantly engaged. For nearly half a century, few cases of perplexity or doubt arose in any of the churches of the new Connection in which he was not consulted. Few ministers settled with a people, or took any important step, without first asking his advice. When an abstruse query or important measure was proposed at the conferences, it was not unusual to "refer it to brother Taylor." And when the matter could not be conveniently settled by an epistolary correspondence, his presence was requested. In the course of his ministry, he travelled many hundreds of miles to assist in terminating disputes, and setting in order the things that were wanting.

Mr. T.'s *preaching* exhibited the distinguishing traits of his general character. It was *plain*, *serious* and *edifying*. He never affected ornament or shew, but dealt in unadorned truth. In his youth, it appears that he frequently used considerable action, spoke with vehemence, and not uncommonly continued his discourse for an hour and a half or two hours. In the diary of the first ten years of his ministry, we find him often complaining of these faults, and resolving to avoid them. He soon moderated the violence of his tone and gesture, and became an example of decorum in the pulpit. "His style and manner,"

observes one of his pupils who had the advantage of hearing him regularly for several years, "was exceedingly plain. His gestures and motions were few, modest and serious. He possessed a natural dignity in the pulpit; and never exposed that sacred place to contempt, by any indelicate or inconsistent language or behaviour. He generally spoke, when preaching, above the ordinary pitch of his voice, and this rendered his enunciation less natural and therefore less agreeable. His ideas were clear; his words plain, his language simple and strong; and his articulation distinct and perfectly intelligible. I cannot recollect his using any figures of speech; and in the explanation and adaptation of passages of scripture in which figures are found, he made little use of the figure, but hastened to the truth intended to be conveyed by it. He had fine feelings and strong passions, which rendered him susceptible of lively impressions from the importance of the subjects on which he discoursed, and raised him sometimes to the true sublime."

Mr. T.'s sound judgment enabled him soon to see the impropriety of vociferation and violent action in the pulpit, but he continued through life to introduce into his discourses some rough, and to certain delicate hearers, very unpleasing words. He paid such implicit regard to the authority of the scripture that he hesitated not to adopt its phraseology; and plainly to declare that he that believeth not shall be *damned*; and that the wicked shall be turned into *hell*. He despised most heartily the affectation of the Reverend Dean who threatened sinners with punishment in a place, which he did not think decent to name before so polite an audience. He was persuaded that the strong and explicit language used by the sacred writers, might be instrumental, under the influence of divine grace, in awaking the careless, alarming the secure, and sometimes in arresting the mad career of the most hardened. The correctness of his reasoning will probably be doubted by some: but it is certain that he acted from principle, and used the harshest language with the most benevolent motives.

He was peculiarly eminent as a *preacher of the gospel*. It was almost always his constant practice to insist on evangelical subjects. Something like the first preachers amongst the General Baptists, who had Law and Gospel in every sermon, he, whatever was his text, seldom failed to introduce Christ into

some part of his discourse. And this was usually done in the most easy and appropriate manner; without any thing that looked forced or unnatural. That which he inculcated on young ministers with the greatest earnestness, was the necessity and importance of preaching the *gospel*; and exhibiting the way of salvation to fallen men: advice which his uniform conduct exemplified. But though he considered Christ and him crucified as the peculiar object of the gospel ministry, he did not neglect to insist on the necessity of bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. In his latter years, he usually devoted the mornings of the Lord's-days to explain and enforce the privileges and duties of Christians, as exhibited in the New Testament, especially in the apostolical epistles. He sometimes delivered a series of discourses on the various branches of personal, relative and social holiness, which occupied several months. To an humble and inquiring mind, these lectures must have been interesting and instructive; as he derived the obligations to duty, not from the fitness of things or the principles of pagan morality, but from the precepts of scripture, enforced by evangelical motives.

In his preparation for the pulpit, he generally composed short notes or skeletons. These seldom contained more than the general outlines, the grand divisions, and sometimes a few leading thoughts under each; always accompanied by many appropriate quotations from scripture. Some of these notes are preserved, dated so early as February, 1765, which are much more laboured than those of later years, though perhaps not so logical, and contain sometimes twenty particulars. He seldom used his notes while preaching, but placed them between the leaves of his Bible, that if he should find himself at a loss in the delivery, he might easily refer to them.

For a long series of years, Mr. T. was highly esteemed and extremely popular as a preacher. He frequently took an excursion of a few weeks through the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, &c; and preached almost every night, and thrice on the Lord's-days, at villages many miles distant from each other. On these occasions, he was followed from place to place by attentive and admiring crowds, who despised fatigue to obtain the pleasure of hearing him. And the same anxiety to attend his ministrations manifested itself whenever he visited those counties, to the last year of his life.

His preaching was always useful and instructive; but when particular circumstances, as Ordinations, Associations, &c. excited his energies, it rose to a high degree of excellence. One of his contemporaries and fellow-labourers,* by no means disposed to be enthusiastic, thus describes it. "As a preacher, Mr. T. stood deservedly high in the esteem of all his brethren. His strong masculine eloquence, which always appeared to rise in proportion to the greatness and importance of his subject, was delightfully charming to serious and judicious hearers. As he was generally, I think always, one of the preachers at our annual Associations, he, on these important occasions, exerted all the powers of his great mind. Here we saw him, with the strength of a giant, wielding the sword of the Spirit, and maintaining the cause of God and truth. Regardless of every consideration, save that of approving himself to God as a good steward of his manifold graces, he spared no sin, he palliated no error; but laid the axe to the root of every species of crime, by declaring the whole counsel of God. No one can doubt that these discourses were made eminently useful to the connection at large: many ministers, officers of churches and principal members attending their delivery. From my own experience and knowledge, I am persuaded the effect was highly beneficial, as they certainly produced a greater uniformity of sentiment on the principal doctrines of the New Testament, and a greater desire to promote the glory of God, by the united exertions of the whole body. At these interesting seasons, now, alas! for ever gone, I have received those impressions which have been a blessing both to myself and others. Sometimes deeply humbled on account of past defects—at other times roused to renewed exertions in the cause of our great Redeemer, I have returned home with full purpose of heart to spend and be spent in promoting the salvation of men, and in consecrating my all to the glory of God. Our congregations do not know the advantage which, in this way, they derive from these annual interviews. O that our Elijah had dropped his mantle on some Elisha, who should have succeeded him in discharging these important duties, now his great Master has taken him from us!"

Mr. T.'s public addresses to his Maker were always serious and devout; frequently animated and affecting. The intelligent

* The Rev. R. Smith, of Nottingham.

friend from whose kind communication we made the last extract, expresses himself on this subject in strong language. "But that," he says, "in which Mr. T. most manifestly excelled, and which spread a kind of glory over all his public labours, was the *gift of prayer*, which he possessed in its most eminent degrees. He was evidently much in the practice of it, and had suitable subjects, and proper words to express them, always at command. When I have heard him, on public occasions, such as the ordinations of ministers or at our annual Associations, he appeared to possess an uncommon portion of that unction which is from above; and to have a heart burning with a seraph's fire, which generally spread through the whole assembly. It was impossible for a truly serious mind to be present, and not feel deeply impressed at these solemn and interesting opportunities."

One excellence in Mr. T.'s public exercises, whether sermons or prayers, was in their being peculiarly *appropriate*. It was evident, in all his ministrations, that he knew at what he aimed, and suited the whole service to the end designed. Some, on whatever occasion they are called to engage, choose general topics. Their sermons are orthodox, but common place; and their prayers, though professedly extemporeaneous, are as much a form as those of the liturgy. The latter indeed, being composed by judicious men for certain seasons, are often well suited to their purposes; while the former, being intended for every occasion, are applicable to none. Mr. T. on the contrary, always kept the design of the service in mind. When he was called upon to give a charge to a young minister, his whole discourse was adapted to the instruction and encouragement of a person undertaking the sacred office. In his ordination prayers, he would spread all the labours, the trials, and the duties of a Christian pastor, before the Lord with great propriety, and plead for the necessary support, direction and grace, with holy fervour. When desired, as he generally was, to conclude the Association with prayer, he would recapitulate the states of the churches, the cases that had occupied the attention of the meeting, and the peculiar circumstances of individuals, and implore appropriate blessings on each, without descending to minute particulars or improper personalities, and with a glow of humble piety, ardent devotion, and holy reverence, which sometimes seemed to rise above this earthly state, and give some idea of the worship of heaven.

Constantly engaged as this active minister was in various labours for the connection at large, as well as in secular business for the support of his family, he could not devote that attention to *pastoral* duties which he would chearfully have done had he enjoyed greater leisure. It is evident, however, from the whole tenour of his conduct, as well as from his private memoranda, that he meditated seriously and affectionately on the circumstances of his flock, and endeavoured to suit his public ministrations to promote their edification; that he always stood ready to advise and assist them in every case of difficulty; that he was anxiously solicitous for their temporal and spiritual welfare; and that he was assiduous and earnest in his prayers on their behalf. So far was he from slighting the humblest member of the church, that his partiality took a contrary direction. He maintained perhaps too great a distance and reserve towards those of his people who possessed wealth and influence; and his favourites, if he had any, were a few poor persons, in whom he thought that he discovered the evidence of sincere piety and devotedness to Christ. These, especially towards the close of life, were his cherished associates; and with three or four of these, he would join in prayer and exhortation with all the affection of a brother and the simplicity of a child. And though he was accustomed to crowded auditories, yet he never considered a large number as necessary to render seasons of worship either edifying or acceptable. "What signifies it," he frequently observed, whether my prayers be offered in the presence of four or four hundred? May not my petitions be as prevalent and my advantage as great in the former case as in the latter?" When he was in the height of his popularity, he would walk, with the greatest chearfulness, eight or ten miles, after the labours of the day, to preach to a few poor people in a private apartment, and would feel amply repaid if he was made the instrument of awakening the meanest sinner to a sense of his danger, or of confirming the faith of the humblest Christian.

Indeed it is very evident in all Mr. T.'s conduct, that his exertions for the good of his fellow creatures and the glory of his God, were perfectly *disinterested*. He seemed only anxious to do the work, and was little concerned who received the recompence. This indifference to his own interest marked his whole progress through life, and operated in full force to the

day of his death. In all his journeys, his publications, and his other labours, the first question with him was, "Will this undertaking promote the cause of the Redeemer or the salvation of sinners?" And not, "Who will remunerate me for my trouble? or secure me from pecuniary loss?" When he was once satisfied respecting the former, uncertainty as to the latter seldom caused him to hesitate. For sixty years, he devoted superior abilities, with almost unexampled assiduity, to advance what he esteemed the best interests of mankind; and, after his decease, his survivors found, that he had literally obeyed the injunction of his Master, and laid up no treasures for himself or family on earth! Some may perhaps doubt whether this was any proof of his prudence: it certainly was an evidence of his sincerity. There can be no doubt, had the same talents been applied with equal industry to any secular employment, the result would have been very different. But he had respect to the recompence of reward.

We conclude our remarks on this part of his character in the words of Mr. Kello. "As a *minister*, he was diligent and laborious; well qualified for, and abundant in the duties of that high and honourable station. Distinguished by a robust constitution of body, and possessing singular mental endowments, he hid not his talent in a napkin. His public services were numerous; his attention to his flock was unremitting. Without discrimination he sought their welfare—sympathized with every individual under their sorrows and trials—and was ever ready to exert himself for their relief and help."

Mr. T. was advanced towards old age when he undertook the superintendance of an *academy for young ministers*: and had, for many previous years, been closely engaged in the concerns of trade and the labours of the ministry. He was therefore, even in a literary view, less qualified for that important office than he would have been, had he commenced Tutor when he was twenty years younger. At sixty, however, he entered on the business with his characteristic alacrity and spirit. He read authors, made extracts, consulted and corresponded with persons who had been employed in the same work, and took every method, which his opportunities afforded him, to render himself, in some measure, equal to the task. He retraced his former studies, and drew up a course of lectures, which comprehended most of

the subjects connected with the sacred work for which his pupils were designed. In a thick quarto manuscript, of 450 pages, now lying before us, he has entered the outlines of one hundred and thirty-five lectures, which he delivered, at various times, to the young men under his care, and repeated as occasion required. The subjects are—the Design of the Institution—the necessary Qualifications for the Ministry—the Knowledge necessary for a Minister—the Means of obtaining this Knowledge—the Nature and Necessity of Diligence—the Evidences of Christianity—the Study of the Scriptures—the Remembering of the Scriptures—the Illustration and Improvement of the Scriptures—Preaching—Composition—Choice of Texts—Choice of Subjects—Delivery—Exhortation—Prayer—Bible Geography—Scripture Chronology—Jewish and Hebrew Antiquities—Logic—Rhetoric—Scripture History—Scripture Prophecy—The New Testament, &c. The regular delivery of this series was frequently interrupted by occasional lectures on miscellaneous subjects, suggested by the circumstances of the times, the family, the church or the academy. Many of these were peculiarly appropriate and valuable, and ought to be preserved for the benefit of young ministers. As most of the young men who were placed under his care had enjoyed few advantages of education previous to their admission, a constant and regular attention was kept up, through the whole of their residence, to their improvement in the English language; and, in most cases, the elements of Latin and Greek, and sometimes of the Hebrew, were also cultivated.

The deficiency of most of the pupils in the elements of literature, the short time they remained under his care, and their being frequently called to preach, rendered it impossible that much progress could be made in the various parts of knowledge included in his plan; but the ample preparations made for their instruction evince the vigour, industry and judgment of the Tutor. And considering the discouragements which a first attempt always encounters, there is abundant evidence, that the result was highly favourable. Many of the students are now usefully employed in the service of General Baptist churches, who by the steadiness of their sentiments, the diligence of their labours, and respectability of their conduct, reflect honour both on themselves and their Tutor. It would be easy to mention individuals, but delicacy forbids it. We shall rather insert an extract

or two from the communications of several of these worthy ministers.

"The example," says one, "of so wise and diligent a man, was not the least advantage that Mr. T.'s students enjoyed at the academy. Not only did he teach diligence by example, but constantly pressed it upon them by instruction. He frequently awakened them to their studies early in the morning, and repeated to them his favourite maxim: 'Employ yourselves constantly either in doing good or getting good.' He was mindful also of their accommodation; and while their minds were feeding on knowledge, their bodies were improving in health and strength. In the evening, he employed the pupils in rotation to conduct the family devotion; which with the public seasons of worship that they had an opportunity of attending, was beneficial to their improvement in personal and experimental religion. Mr. T. possessed an open, honest, ingenuous heart, and was, in a great measure, free from that suspicion which attaches to narrow minds. This prevented him from knowing what depraved dunces some are; and laid him open to deception by those who strove to please without merit. Probably therefore some might obtain greater encomiums from him than they deserved. To say he was faultless, is to contradict human nature; but his excellencies far outweighed his imperfections. Many ministers are under obligations to him for different degrees of knowledge: and he is held in high estimation by all that have been under his care, whom I have had an opportunity to question. I am ashamed that I have improved so little from his example and instruction. The Lord pardon me, and enable me to do better."

"One word," observes another, "includes all I have to say respecting Mr. T. as a Tutor: *he was what he ought to be.* He was exact, laborious, candid, gentle and fatherly. He knew as well how to keep the headstrong in check, as to take the timid by the hand and help them along the painful road. I speak experimentally, and from close observation. He was eminent among his students and in his family for a savoury and cheerful conversation. Besides not only his extensive learning, but his decided tone on the principal articles of the christian faith, highly qualified him for his office."

In a third communication, the writer remarks, "D. T. was very ready to communicate knowledge to his pupils, and pos-

sessed a great facility and ease in instruction. Whatever he said, he strove to make so plain that his scholars could not misunderstand it: and from his habitual plainness he was able to simplify and impress his ideas on the mind with great force and effect. He was naturally of a friendly temper and admirably fitted for society. His conversation was frequently entertaining, always instructive. He certainly knew how to shew his displeasure; but his general deportment was affable and conciliatory. I am disposed to believe that every one of his pupils loved him: if they did not, their dispositions were sadly depraved. He took a heartfelt pleasure in their improvement, and encouraged them by every method in his power: freely accommodating them with the loan of his books, admitting them to familiar conversation, taking them to hear celebrated preachers, and adopting every other method to enlarge their minds."

To these testimonies, we shall only add a few observations from the pen of the intelligent minister who has with zeal and assiduity filled the office of Secretary to the Academy from the time of its institution, and who enjoyed the best means of forming a just estimate of Mr. T.'s character and conduct, as a Tutor. "I am fully persuaded," he says, "that Mr. T. has rendered a most important service to the Connection, in filling the office of Tutor of the Academy, in a manner so very useful and honourable; and that the benefit which his pupils derived from his instructions, while placed under his care, is a blessing both to themselves and the churches amongst whom they exercise their ministry. In every great design, there is a peculiar honour attaches to the man that lays the foundation-stone of the building; and who, in the commencement of an undertaking, while surrounded with difficulties and discouragements, with fortitude meets them all, sets his shoulders to the work, and accelerates its progress. This honour had Mr. T. in the present instance. Had he not undertaken the task, the structure had never been raised; and to whatever eminence the institution may at any future period arrive, his labours at the commencement will certainly be considered as having very essentially contributed to that prosperity. From the letters received from his pupils, it is evident that he exercised so much kindness and affection towards them, and the office of Tutor was so softened into that of parental authority, that when they left the Academy, they left it

impressed with the highest respect for his character, and with feelings of filial attachment."

After the Extracts from Mr. T.'s Diary and correspondence with the detail of his Life and conversation already given, it is almost unnecessary to say any thing respecting his character as a *Christian*. We shall therefore only recal to the reader's recollection a few general observations, which must have frequently occurred to him while he has been engaged in perusing the preceding pages of this Memoir.

Mr. T. maintained a deep sense of his own unworthiness before God constantly on his mind. He entertained lively and exalted ideas of the glory, the holiness, and the majesty of God, and of the purity, extent and obligation of the divine Law. He felt and sincerely mourned the depravity of his fallen nature, his total inability to fulfil the precepts of the Law, and his just exposedness to the curse pronounced against the transgressors of it. Fully sensible of his guilt and helplessness, he depended, for acceptance with his Maker, alone on the merits and sufferings of his Saviour. He frequently represented, in glowing colours and with heartfelt delight, the fulness, the freeness and the fitness of that salvation which had been wrought out by Jesus Christ : and confidently rested all his hopes for eternity on that solid foundation.

But though he depended for salvation wholly on rich and undeserved grace, yet he was zealous in defending the perpetuity and obligation of the moral law. He insisted that faith without works is dead ; and, not only in his preaching, but in his conduct, he laboured to prove that the sentiments which he professed were doctrines according to godliness. In the discharge of every relative duty, he was conscientious and exemplary. In his conduct as a member of society, he was ever attentive to the rule of his adorable Saviour, of treating others as we would they should treat us. In his transactions in trade, he was scrupulously just, often to a degree which few would think necessary. Conscientious in his obedience to civil governors, he never would suffer either himself or any of his dependents to disobey their laws, or elude their regulations.

His conversation was grave and pious ; and he studied to lead the discourse to religious topics. These were evidently his favourite themes ; and he frequently manifested both uneasiness

and displeasure when much time was spent by professors on trifling or even on common subjects. As he approached the termination of his earthly career, his thoughts and his conversation were peculiarly occupied by spiritual things; and his relish for political and even literary discussion was proportionably weakened. He detested slander and calumny in all its forms, and never permitted either himself or others to speak evil of an absent person.

"As a master of a family," observes one who spent several years under his roof, "Mr. T. seemed determined to maintain order and regularity in all its departments. He was an example of punctuality and diligence to all the members of it. He maintained religion in his family; and devoted more time to domestic worship than would probably, in many instances, be prudent or edifying. In the morning, in addition to prayer, he read the scriptures, and frequently expounded them: in the evening, one, sometimes several of his daughters, read a portion of scripture, and he remarked occasionally on it. A hymn was not unfrequently sung, and the whole concluded with a prayer by himself or one of his pupils. The whole exercise occupied nearly an hour; but it was so managed as not to interfere with the other duties of the day: both he and the other branches of his family attending to much business with little confusion."

We have seen that at Mr. T.'s first setting out in religion he was diligent in his attention to the private means of grace. Self-examination, secret prayer and other devout exercises were pursued with great regularity and sincerity. And though, in following years, he had not leisure to record these engagements, yet there is good reason to believe that he continued them through the whole of his life. By these means, his graces were nourished, his mind animated, and his speed in the christian race increased.

It would be easy to enlarge on this part of his character, but we resign the subject with great satisfaction into the hands of his judicious friend, Mr. Kello: persuaded that his intimate knowledge of the deceased for more than twenty years, and the unreserved freedom with which they were in the habit of communicating their sentiments to each other, enable him to treat it with accuracy; and that his opinions will not be suspected of undue partiality.

"As a christian, Mr. T.'s profession and deportment," observes Mr. K. "were uniform and consistent. The grace necessary to form that character was communicated to, and experienced by him. Persuaded of the absolute necessity of the divine influence to bring a sinner to subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ, he gave evidence of his own participation of it. Sensible of his lost condition as a sinner in the sight of God—of his obnoxiousness to the curse of the divine law, as a transgressor of its precepts, he made the Lord Jesus Christ his refuge and his confidence; he trusted in the atoning sacrifice which he offered on the cross for pardon; he depended on his righteousness for acceptance and salvation. This faith, exercised and professed by him, was not a dead or inactive principle. At the same time that it purified his heart, it influenced his external conduct, to the adorning the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things. While in his view the law of God was a rule of life to believers in Jesus, he lamented the awful breaches of its precepts by others, and endeavoured a conformity to them himself."

"One trait of his character as a christian demands particular mention; viz. his great *humility*. He ever spake of himself in the lowest and most abasing terms; owning his utter unworthiness in the sight of God, and expressing an high admiration of his goodness and mercy to him. He always appeared as one emptied of self; and devoted to the service and glory of God."

"In the course of his christian progress and life, he had his share of trials. An intercourse with him, when suffering under reiterated bereaving providences, demands and furnishes a testimony to his resignation under the will of God, and the practice of that submission which he was often called upon to recommend to others. A christian in deed and not in word only, we now remember him; and as such it becomes us to be 'followers of him as far as he followed Christ.'

We have thus attempted to delineate the character of this worthy minister. We feel that the sketch is very imperfect; but we trust the distinguishing features are correctly, though feebly marked. Those who knew the venerable original only in the last years of his protracted life, may perhaps find some difficulty in recognizing the resemblance in a few particulars. To them it may be proper to remark, that though Mr. T. retained extraordinary vigour of body and mind much longer than might

have been expected from the incessant labours which he had sustained, yet he sensibly declined in both before he was called to his rest. His corporeal powers indeed were remarkably preserved till within a short time of his decease; but his mental faculties evidently failed after his seventieth year. Of this fact he was not sufficiently conscious: and, while he felt that he could still endure fatigues and support exertions that would have oppressed many younger persons, he was not easily persuaded that he was an old man. It is a common observation, that the aged enter more clearly into the transactions of the former parts of life than into those in which they are engaged in declining years. This was peculiarly the case with Mr. T. The most painful symptom of mental decay which his friends had to lament, was an inability to apprehend properly the true state of the various concerns which called for his attention. He not unfrequently took up a wrong idea; and it was with difficulty that he was convinced of his error. Accustomed as he had been to form clear conceptions on most subjects, and having been, for half a century regarded by most of his connections, as an oracle, he naturally concluded that he must be right. Besides, most of those with whom he was surrounded in the advance of life, were such as he had been acquainted with as children after he had attained the age of maturity; and we all feel how hard it is for a person thus situated, not to suppose that he still remains as much superior to his associates in knowledge and experience as he knows that he once was. It was not therefore surprising that he should be, in some measure, impatient of contradiction; and, at times, maintain his own opinion with a pertinacity which bordered on obstinacy. This also led him occasionally to form unfavourable conclusions respecting the friendliness of those who were obliged, out of kindness to himself or duty to others, to oppose his judgment. To this infirmity of age, almost unavoidable in the circumstances in which he was placed, may be ascribed much of the trouble that embittered his latter days, and caused his sun to set with less effulgence. In short, he was a man; and imperfection clings close to the human character in its most exalted forms. But, though his intellectual powers were in a degree debilitated, yet his moral and religious principles retained their full vigour; and, to the last, he was incapable of acting designedly contrary to what he

believed to be the dictates of duty. Whatever imperfect principles he might assume, or however inconclusively he might reason from true principles, he always meant to do right; and would have sacrificed life itself rather than deviate from what he esteemed the will of God.

But his weaknesses have been exaggerated. It is presumed that few persons who have passed through so many trying and delicate scenes as those through which Mr. T. passed, in his long and active life, have preserved a character so generally respected and approved as his was. Yet, in a few instances, scandal made him her object and aimed her envenomed shafts at his reputation. Towards the close of his life, several calumnies were industriously spread; but they vanished on investigation: On this subject the Author speaks with confidence; as he has found it his duty personally to undertake such investigations, painful in their causes, but highly satisfactory in their results. Many have advised him, in justice to the memory of the deceased, to enter into particulars and state facts. It does not, however, appear necessary. The original propagators of these reports are probably gone to answer before that Judge who will do them right; and it is hoped, that those who had too readily taken up a reproach against their neighbour, have repented of their credulity. There is full evidence that the pious object of their attacks heartily forgave them; and we have no wish to expose their infirmities.

It was not our intention to paint a perfect character. Such a being never existed on this earth, except He who "was holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sinners." We have endeavoured to trace the footsteps of a man of like passions with ourselves, who was enabled, by the assistance of divine grace, amidst many sins which he deeply lamented, and imperfections of which he was fully sensible, "to fight a good fight, to keep the faith, and at last to finish his course with joy." He is now, we doubt not, entered into the full fruition of that eternal life, which he so long and so earnestly recommended to others as "the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord." While on earth, he always hoped to receive it as a gift, and disclaimed all idea of meriting it by any works or labours of his own; and now he joins, with humble gratitude and holy joy, the inhabitants of that blessed world where sin is no more, in ascribing "blessing and honour,

and glory and power, to Him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever."

May that God, "whose he was and whom he served," bless this feeble attempt, to his own glory and the good of the reader. May every private christian be stimulated to imitate the pious subject of the foregoing pages, in his diligent use of the means of grace, his humble dependance on the assistance of the Holy Spirit, his fervent and rational attachment to the doctrines of the gospel, and his conscientious and intrepid obedience to the divine commands. May every minister of the New Testament, but especially those with whom he was more closely connected, roused by his example, animated by his motives, and encouraged by his success, exert themselves with zeal, disinterestedness, and perseverance, like his, in promoting the salvation of sinners and extending the kingdom of the Redeemer on earth. And at last may all, both ministers and people, join our honoured friend where "the spirits of just men are made perfect."

FINIS.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
 OF THE
PUBLICATIONS
 OF
 THE LATE REV. D. TAYLOR,

With a Reference to the Page in the preceding Memoir where some account is given of each.

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* This publication, which has undesignedly escaped notice in its proper place, is intitled, "Our Saviour's Commission to his Ministers explained

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and improved. The substance of a Sermon delivered at Canterbury, and in Worship Street, London, at the administration of the Ordinance of Baptism. Published at the request of the hearers in both places." It is without date; but it appears to have been preached when the Author was travelling to collect for the debt on the meeting-house at Halifax, (see page 123) and to have been printed before he left Yorkshire. The Sermon is founded on *Matt. xxviii. 29, 30.* On this favourite text, the preacher has constructed a perspicuous, well-arranged and useful discourse.

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BY J. PEGGS,

Late Missionary at Cuttack, Orissa.

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the Sovereign.”

INST. OF MENU.

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&c., &c.

SECTION I.

Remarks on the horrid nature of the practice of burning Hindoo Widows, and on the causes that tend to prevent its suppression or occasion its perpetration.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the religion which influences the population of the vast regions of India, is totally unfavourable to the exercise of every principle either of humanity or virtue. Many of its precepts are so afflictive and unnatural, that they seem to have sunk by common consent into complete disuse; and if every point of the Hindoo ritual were literally enforced, not only would it be impossible to carry forward the ordinary business of life, but all those social relations, to which we are indebted for so much of our happiness, would be completely obliterated, and the whole frame of society dissolved. There are still, however, many usages subversive equally of benevolence and morality, which have been perpetuated for ages. Among these is the burning of widows, a practice, the enormity of which would strike even the Hindoos themselves, did not a blind attachment to the vices of their forefathers overcome every natural feeling. In all the annals of human depravity it will be difficult to discover a custom so horrible in its nature, or so destructive in its consequences both on individual and public happiness. It forms one of the blackest pages in the history of Hindooism; and were this feature of its character alone to remain on record, it would be of itself sufficient to hand it down to the execration of the latest ages. That a practice, which would reflect a stigma on the most barbarous tribes, should have been sanctioned by men of thought and penetration, and perpetuated among a people whose mildness of disposition is proverbial, shews to what a state of degradation the mind may be reduced under the influence of an unnatural superstition. This is not the case

of a patriot relinquishing life to establish the freedom of his country,—it is not a martyr braving the flames to maintain the rights of conscience,—it is not a noble mind sacrificing even life itself on some occasion of exalted virtue to secure to posterity the benefit of its high example. On these occasions we feel a melancholy pleasure in applauding a voluntary resignation of life. But it is the helpless and disconsolate widow torn from her family at the very climax of her grief, and hurried to the flames amidst the shouts of an unfeeling multitude. She must stifle every feeling of compassion for the offspring of her womb, she must renounce them at a period when they stand most in need of her care; and, when weighed down with sorrow, she must take a last look on all mortal things, and enter the flames. Every feeling of humanity is here sacrificed, without the counterbalance of the least degree of advantage either to individuals or to society. Had this sacrifice been demanded of the stronger part of the community, even then it would have been a demand of singular enormity; but in a country like Hindooostan to demand this sacrifice of the weaker sex—to urge the unprotected female, while her grief for the loss which her children have recently sustained is yet unsupportable—to deprive them of their only remaining consolation, and cast them on the wide world, without a father or mother, is surely a case of unparalleled barbarity, and tends almost beyond any thing else to develope the extent of the depravity to which Hindooism owes its origin.*

Were we to hear of a nation which, on her husband's death, subjected a widow to the loss of all her property, of which she might probably have brought him part as a dower which she had enjoyed with him from the time of their union; and turned her out on the wide world (her lord and protector being dead) to labour—to beg—to steal—or to perish, with what feelings of indignation should we regard such a law and such a nation! We should inquire, On what principle is this severity exercised on a helpless woman, precisely at the moment when her heart is torn with anguish through the loss of him on whom was fixed all her hope? Were *imprisonment for life* added to this outrage, however; were the hapless widow deprived of her liberty, as well as of all her property, the moment death had closed the eyes of her husband; such a procedure would excite horror and indignation in every mind. What then should we say were we to hear for the first time, that in some newly discovered island, the death of the husband sealed the doom of the wife, however virtuous and exemplary in her conduct; that she was, from that moment, devoted to death,—and to death in its most dreadful form—*to be burnt to ashes?* Such, however, is the case; not in some lately discovered island, hitherto totally cut off from the rest of mankind, but in India, famed for her literature and civilization; and, above all, in Bengal, where Europeans are chiefly found; whose ideas, the wise and candid among the natives are imbibing every day.

How then is it possible that the murder of the amiable and defenseless, attended too with such circumstances of cruelty, should

* Friend of India, (monthly series), Vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

have continued so long? How is it that common humanity has not overleaped every bound, and constrained superstition to desist from a course so barbarous and inhuman? Among other reasons which might be mentioned, this certainly has its share, that *the whole of the horrible deed is really concealed from view.* Had the deed been constantly perpetrated in the sight of all, as was formerly the case in Smithfield;—had the helpless victim to superstition been bound to the stake in the open view of the multitude, as were formerly the victims to Romish bigotry;—had the flames been suffered to kindle on her publicly;—had the convulsions and agonies of the widow expiring in torments, often in the bloom of youth, been fully witnessed by the aged, the young, the neighbour, the near relative, humanity must have spoken out long ago; reflection must have been awakened in the public mind. At least, parents and relatives must have felt horror while anticipating the agonies which awaited a daughter or a beloved sister, the moment sickness or even accident rendered her a widow; and the voice of nature must have prevailed, and abolished a practice so destructive in its anticipation to the peace of every relative, whose heart was not steeled against all the feelings of humanity.

But instead of this, the agonies of the dying victim *are completely concealed*, while her shrieks are drowned in the noise and shouts of the ignorant multitude and the unfeeling ministers of death; and thus the whole is as completely hidden from public view, as though the dreadful deed were perpetrated within the most secluded cloister. The concealment indeed is far more effectual; for in that case, though the shrieks might not assail the listening ear without, the imagination would unavoidably paint to itself the horrors of a daughter, a sister, or even an acquaintance, expiring in the flames, in a manner scarcely less vivid than the real view. But the victim's being thus brought before the multitude in a state which scarcely leaves her the power of reflection, her being hastily led through certain ceremonies, and hurried to the pile by those whose countenances wear the appearance of hilarity and cheerfulness, bound to the dead body of her husband, and covered instantly with the fuel, as well as *held down by a pressure which renders all resistance totally unavailing*, hides all the horrors of death from the sight; while the shouts of the unthinking crowd, which begin to rend the air the moment the torch is applied to the fatal pile, no less effectually conceal from the ear those agonizing shrieks, from which it is scarcely in nature to refrain at the touch of the flames. Thus completely are the multitude deluded: they think they witness all, while they witness nothing; and the unnatural jocularity, which, originating with the actors in this dreadful scene, generally pervades the whole crowd, removes every feeling of pity, and gives the whole rather the air of a joyous festival than of a funeral scene. The agonies, and shrieks, and dying groans, of the unhappy victim, are witnessed by no one,—but by Him who is the Avenger of blood. But are these agonies the less real on this account? Is the anguish of this tremendous death the less felt? Let reason and humanity judge.

Without entering into the origin and cause of this dreadful practice so deeply seated in the system of Hindooism itself, to do full justice to which would require a treatise instead of a short essay, we wish now merely to notice some of the most obvious circumstances which attend it. Among these let us consider for a moment who those are, who are doomed to undergo these agonies, unpitied, because never beheld. They are, *the most amiable part of the Hindoo race!* In most cases they are females possessing some degree of wealth, for the very poor seldom thus devote themselves to death: they are not worth the labour requisite to work up their minds to a sufficient pitch of delusion. If the term be applicable to any female in the present state of Hindoo society, they are in general persons of *education*: and whatever be the degree of polish and delicacy which accompany opulence, whatever the ideas included in a superior mode of living; they are in general possessed by those whom this dreadful custom marks for its victims. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that if among the higher ranks of society in this country there be any *delicacy of feeling*, it is possessed by these who may be said almost from their birth to be devoted to the flames.—And if there be any thing to be found of conjugal fidelity, it resides among these, since an extraordinary degree of conjugal affection, either real or ascribed, is made the lure by which these unhappy victims are betrayed to death; the enjoyment for numerous ages of the highest felicity with their deceased husbands, being held out as the bait to draw them on till they make the irrevocable declaration, that they will commit themselves to the flames. It is probable, therefore, that those who are thus cruelly murdered year by year, are in most instances the best educated, the most amiable, and the most virtuous, of the Hindoo race.*

If we turn from the wretched victim to the *unhappy offsprings* whom she abandons, what do we behold, but a sight of still deeper woe!—Scarcely recovered from the blow inflicted on them by the death of their father, they are hurried from their once peaceful home to the funeral pile, to witness the death of their mother! In other countries, the loss of paternal protection is, in some measure, compensated by the increased exertion of maternal kindness and solicitude: but under the influence of this system, their children are deprived of both parents in one day. A state of the deepest misery succeeds to a state of the highest happiness with such rapidity as almost to deprive them of the exercise of their mental faculties.—The family compact is destroyed with the suddenness of an earthquake. The corpse of the father is scarcely cold before their only living parent is bound to it, and consumed in their presence. But there are circumstances of still greater enormity attached to this system: The funeral pile must be lighted by the eldest son! Had this deed of darkness been consigned to some unconcerned spectator, to the brahmun who officiates on these occasions with such lively pleasure, or even to some distant and unaffected relative, this might have been some re-

* Friend of India, (mon. ser.) Vol. ii. page 319—322.

lief to the feelings; but it must be performed by the *eldest son*—the extinction of the hopes of the family is consigned to him. He accompanies his mother from his home to the banks of the Ganges, he stands by in all the agonies of grief during the performances of those tremendous rites by which she devotes herself to destruction, nor does he dare to lift an arm for her relief: he beholds his mother, endeared to him by the recollection of a thousand acts of kindness, thrown on the funeral pile like a beast of sacrifice, and *inhumanly bound* to the dead body of her husband with all those indications of brutal satisfaction which shed a tenfold horror on the scene; and surrounded by his weeping brothers and sisters, he lights up the pile which consumes the living parent with the dead, and extinguishes all their hopes of future tenderness and protection. Every circumstance which can aggravate this scene of woe is here combined; nor is it possible to conceive of any thing which could add a deeper tinge of barbarity that has been omitted.

If we would form an adequate idea however of the effects of this system on social happiness, we must not overlook *the state of prospective misery* which each family suffers long before the painful moment of separation arrives. The family in which it is known that the mother must, through the tyranny of custom, devote herself to the flames, is subjected for years to the most painful and afflictive anxiety. The happiness which they enjoy may be suddenly annihilated; a single day may reduce them from a high state of domestic felicity to the situation of the most wretched orphans. They feel that the death of the father will be only a signal for the more horrid death of their endeared mother. The anguish which such a state of suspense and anxiety must involve, may be more easily conceived than described. The longer they are indulged with the endearments of maternal affection, the longer is the state of misery prolonged, and the keener does that stroke become of which they are held in dreadful expectation: thus, that which under a milder institution is a source of joy, is here turned into an aggravation of expected wretchedness. The continuance of their social happiness is removed even from the common chance of mortality, and placed at the disposal of a merciless superstition; even the cup of bliss is mixed with the bitterest gall, and that season of life when, from the absence of care, the mind is disposed to the utmost gaiety and cheerfulness, is in many instances consumed in almost insupportable anxiety and distress.

The influence of this system is scarcely less destructive to the general happiness of society. It aggravates every natural calamity, and gives additional horror to every disease. In other countries the prevalence of an epidemic only serves to increase the energies of benevolence. In this country, however, there are no attempts made either to stem the current of disease, or to console the afflicted and bereaved. Those of the family whom the disease has spared, are only reserved for accumulated misery—the survivors, instead of receiving assistance, are cruelly deprived of that parent who could most effectually have afforded it. Every epidemic therefore assumes an aspect of ten-fold

horror. This dreadful practice is not suspended during a period of general distress; in vain do the wretched offspring demand the life of their mother at a time, when from the universal prevalence of disease, her's is the only hand that can minister relief to them; this superstition is inexorable as death itself. When therefore the country is afflicted, as during the past year, with a destructive epidemic, the numerous victims to disease, the augmented number of female immolations, the number of relatives who tremble for their sisters or their daughters, added to the number of children who stand exposed by the ravages of superstition and death, to the loss of all parental aid or consolation, form a consummation of misery, to which no other country on earth presents a parallel.*

By whom this crime is perpetrated, is worthy of the strictest inquiry. With the victims themselves it can scarcely be said to originate; for, a few days previously, they are often as void of all desire to destroy themselves, as to destroy others; and they are generally averse to the deed till their minds are completely deluded by fallacious representations, and their heads turned with dreams of future happiness, impossible to be realized. But whatever delusion may reign in their minds, without the concurrence of the husband's relatives it would be perfectly harmless. The *deed is constantly encouraged by the relatives of the husband*; those of the wife on the contrary, being generally on the side for which nature pleads; although her own son, if old enough, *is obliged to kindle the pile prepared for his mother's destruction*. It is therefore on the husband's relatives that the fate of every female of respectability and opulence is suspended, however young she may be, the moment her husband dies: and when it is considered, that they are bound to her by none of the ties of consanguinity, it will not appear strange if some one or all of the following reasons should, in general, so preponderate, as to doom to the flames one for whom they can have little or no personal feeling.

The honour of the family. This is supposed to arise in proportion to the number of unhappy victims, who can be mentioned as having devoted themselves to the flames. The husband's relatives of course claim to themselves a certain degree of credit for having surmounted feelings of affection, which they never possessed, as they generally regard the poor unhappy relict with the same apathy with which they view a log of wood intended for fuel; while the number of widows in their families devoting themselves to the flames apparently from love to their husbands, gives rise to the idea that these relatives of theirs possess that excellence of character which rendered it impossible to survive their loss. That when the unhappy widow is regarded with the most perfect indifference, this alone should so weigh as to make them prefer her dying to her living, will create no surprise in those who are thoroughly acquainted with the native character.

The wish to get rid of a burden. A widow, though only twelve years of age, can never marry again. If her own relatives therefore be unwilling to support her, or not sufficiently opulent, she must live

with the surviving relatives of the husband to the end of her life. And although her life is far from being a plenteous and affluent one, yet a certain degree of expense is thus entailed on the family, and this possibly for a considerable number of years when she is left in the bloom of youth. The consideration of an expense therefore, though small, yet scarcely terminable within the space of their own lives, added to the trouble and vexation often arising from female relatives living together who can scarcely be expected to have any affection for each other, may possibly make them wish to rid themselves at once of a heavy burden, when it can be done in a way which, instead of being esteemed dishonourable, or any proof of the want of affection, on the contrary reflects a high degree of lustre on the character of the family. At least this is a temptation which humanity would not throw in the way of a Hindoo who sets so little value on human life.

This is heightened by another consideration. It has been just observed, that *these widows, however young, can never marry again*. Now while impurity reigns among these very relatives of the husband, perhaps in such a degree as to attach to itself no kind of disgrace, a deviation from purity of conduct in a widow, would, in the public estimation, fix an indelible stain on the family of the deceased husband. When therefore the hazard of this dishonour through perhaps a long life, is present to minds, in which no natural affection towards a brother's widow is supposed to exist, it will excite little surprise that men who, (if report may be credited), in some instances make no scruple of hewing in pieces a wife of their own on a mere suspicion of inconstancy, should, on the death of her husband, decide also on the death of his unhappy relict, who, should she live, instead of contributing to the support or the honour of the family, would entail on it a constant burden of expense, and might possibly involve it in disgrace, when her death, while it frees them from all expense and anxiety, tends to heighten in no inconsiderable degree its general reputation.

To this may be added another circumstance which humanity will still more strongly regret. The *death of the mother deprives her children of their natural guardian*, their tenderest, most faithful and watchful friend, who can never see them injured with apathy, and who is ready to hazard life itself for the sake of preserving to them what is their own. It sometimes happens that a man who is opulent, dies and leaves children in a state of mere infancy. That their wealth should never be desired by the surviving relatives, is what no one will expect who is acquainted with the history of human nature, and much less those who are aware with what earnestness one brother among the Hindoos, will labour to supplant another even while living. That, in cases of infancy an affectionate mother, whom no cunning can elude, and no sum can bribe, should stand in the way of the surviving relatives of her husband, is only what might be naturally expected. Were she removed, there would be no one, at least with *her* feelings, to call them to account for the expenditure of the yearly revenue of these helpless orphans; nor possibly for the dilapidation of

their whole property. The history of orphans, even in Christian countries, sufficiently shews us, how dangerous in the hands of presumptive heirs, would be such a power of removing, under a religious pretence, the mother of rich but helpless orphans. All these therefore, are so many temptations to the destruction of a widow, which through this dreadful practice, may be accomplished without the least suspicion being excited of the real views of those interested in her death; and were these suspected, still without that public virtue being excited in the country which would urge any one to step forward and save the widow from death, and the orphans from oppression and poverty. Whoever considers all these circumstances, and reflects that a mother may thus abandon, to the mercy of those who are presumptive heirs to all his possessions, however great, *an infant son only two years old*, will cease to wonder that so many widows are encouraged to destroy themselves; particularly as this dreadful practice is not confined to brahmuns, but extends itself to the writer cast, and even as low as to those who practise the trade of a barber!

Whatever be the delusive ideas which may apparently urge a widow to self-destruction, as the hope of her enjoying numerous ages of felicity in company with her husband;—of expiating the offences of her late husband and his ancestors, and those of both her father and mother's race, with other things of this nature, there are other considerations which cannot but come still nearer to the mind of the unhappy widow. She cannot but be aware, that those who have encouraged her in these fond hopes, are either those in whose power she is completely for the rest of her life, or such as are intimate with them; for although the husband's relatives affect to dissuade her from the deed, it cannot be difficult to discern which way their minds really lean. From these then, even the slightest hint, *that they wish her to die*, must operate on a widow of delicacy and sensibility, like a sentence of death pronounced by a judge. With what feelings could she commit herself for life to the mercy of those who had discovered this wish in the slightest degree, and felt in the least disappointed by her refusing to precipitate herself into the flames, particularly when the laws of the country provide her so little relief against any unkindness or barbarity she might hereafter experience from them? The law itself indeed insists that, while she is never to marry again, she is also to lay aside every thing like ornament for the rest of her days, and every sign of cheerfulness; that she is never to make a full meal, and that one day in every week she is to devote wholly to fasting and grief to the end of life. In these circumstances it is almost impossible that any degree of ill-treatment which the resentment of her husband's relatives might dispose them to inflict on her, could interest her neighbours in her sufferings so as to procure her redress; particularly when the interior of a Hindoo habitation, surrounded as it often is with walls, is nearly as impervious as an ancient castle, and the female relatives are scarcely more in the public view, than were formerly the unhappy inmates of its dungeons. In these circumstances, therefore, it is not strange, if, at the most distant intimation of this nature from those on whose kindness depends every future mitigation

of her lot, and this prospect before her in case of a refusal, a widow of sensibility and reflection should feel almost distracted, and prefer a speedy death to the unknown horrors of her future destiny.

There is also another fact which ought not to be overlooked. Certain brahmuns perform the ceremonies observed at the funeral pile on which a widow sacrifices herself. These brahmuns receive even from the most indigent families something on a widow's actually devoting herself to the flames ; and from some wealthy families as much as *two hundred rupees on these occasions*. While, then, it is the obvious interest of these brahmuns that the wife should be induced to destroy herself when the husband dies, they have access to every family, and are acquainted with the age and circumstances of the various inhabitants, especially of those who are wealthy. That they should constantly recommend this dreadful practice, and prepare the female mind for the perpetration of the deed, particularly in cases where the husband is aged or sickly, is the natural effect of their caring for their own support. But these brahmuns, as they are in some cases the family priests, are in habits of familiar acquaintance with the husband's relatives, and have much to expect from them. In what dreadful circumstances then must a helpless female stand, who has for her spiritual adviser on the subject of her living or dying, a man who has every kindness to expect from those who are presumptive heirs to the property of her infant son, or who may merely dread her devolving on them as a burden to the end of life ! Nor is it necessary to suppose that brahmuns in forwarding the views of an infirm husband's relatives, and preparing the mind of the wife for self-destruction, should consider themselves as actual auxiliaries in the murder of a fellow-creature. They of course must be supposed to be as much habituated to the employment, from which they derive their gain, as a slave-captain formerly was to kidnapping and selling slaves, of whom probably a third died in the middle passage through ill treatment and want of air. They may possibly regard the act as meritorious, rather than cruel, and admire those relatives who thus wish to raise the reputation of their families, through the death of their brother's widow. And in this case even the distant prospect of a large remuneration, may urge them so to work on the mind of a simple, artless female, whose age is perhaps under twenty, that at the moment of the husband's death, no persuasions shall be needed to induce her to make the fatal declaration—beyond the *insidious dissuasions* of her husband's relatives, increasing her desire by affectedly doubting her resolution, and really inflaming her vanity. Were these relatives, however, sincere in these dissuasions, they have it always in their power to prevent the act, as both the preparation of the funeral pile, and all the cost and expenses of the widow's destruction, devolve wholly on them, without the exception of the fee to the brahmun who thus assists in the actual murder of the young, the amiable, and the defenceless.

That other feelings than those of unconquerable affection for a husband, often twice or thrice their own age, or than any inspired by a steady belief in those wonderful tales of conjugal felicity to be

enjoyed with him for boundless ages, influence the minds of the greater part of these unhappy victims, might be shewn by numerous instances wherein widows have been prevented by accident from burning.—Of this kind is an instance which occurred a few months ago, in a village about four miles from Serampore.

A man of the writer cast, at Kona-nugura, about four miles south of Serampore, between twenty and thirty years of age, died in December last, leaving two wives, one about thirteen years of age and the other about sixteen. Both of these, in the usual manner, expressed their wish to burn themselves with their deceased husband. The eldest of them being pregnant, however, was advised to delay till after her confinement, and then to burn herself with something belonging to her husband. The youngest, not being prevented, was burned with the corpse, of her husband. The eldest solemnly engaged to burn herself a month after her confinement; till which period she was taken home by her own parents. She at first expressed such displeasure at being thus denied the opportunity of burning herself, as to beat herself severely and possibly accelerate the time of her confinement; but, at the expiration of the month after that period, when called upon to fulfil her engagement, she had considered the subject more at leisure, and being at home in the house of her own parents, she positively refused to destroy herself; nor could all the appeals made to her feelings, all the threats and reproaches poured upon her, alter her resolution in the least degree. She was in the house of her parents, and completely independent of her husband's relatives; and as every thing which could be done was of course confined to verbal exertion, she determined to remain with her parents, where she continues till this day.

As this instance is by no means a solitary one, we have little reason to conclude that the desire to destroy themselves is more firmly fixed in the minds of multitudes besides, than it was in the mind of this young woman: the apparent wish to die which is thus factitiously produced, is in most instances the mere effect of circumstances created by others; and therefore no more exculpatory of the guilt of deliberate murder, than would be a man's intoxicating another with wine, or any deleterious drug, so as to deprive him of the power of resistance, that he might secure his destruction. Such then are the circumstances in which the most amiable and virtuous among the Hindoo women are constantly placed; circumstances are already hinted, by no means confined to the sacred tribe, but extended to the lowest casts among the Hindoos, as often as there is credulity enough to render the delusion sufficiently strong to become fatal.

If these circumstances be carefully weighed, it will appear that this inhuman practice has not even those pretensions to its being *a religious ceremony*, which most people have been ready to imagine. That it has *no foundation in any peculiar command given in the shastras* we have already had occasion to shew in our strictures on that valuable tract on the subject ascribed to Rama-mohuna-rayā, which was reviewed in a former number. Nor indeed is there in the ceremony itself any thing that marks it as being peculiarly of a religious nature.

The woman devotes herself to no deity; her professed object is merely that of rejoicing her husband in a state of happiness. It is true that certain brahmuns officiate and obtain a sum of money on the occasion. But this is not peculiar to this ceremony: in almost every concern of life brahmuns are called in, and there are few which are not to them a source of profit.

Nor is this practice by any means prevalent in other parts of Hindooostan in the degree in which it now exists in Bengal. Of this the following letter contains a proof, which was sent us on the subject some months ago, by a gentleman who has been some years resident in Hindooostan.—

"I cannot forbear expressing my pleasure at seeing that the Editors of the 'Friend of India' have taken up the cause of humanity in calling the attention of Government and of the public towards the abolition of Suttees. People in Bengal are not generally aware how unfrequent is this most barbarous custom in the upper provinces of Hindooostan. In eight years, mostly spent in this quarter, no Suttee has come to my knowledge; and my moonshee (a kshutriya), a man of about forty-five, informs me that he never saw but one, and that was at Lucknow; the victim, a widow of a Cashmerian pundit. There can be no doubt but a law of prevention would neither create surprise nor resistance in these provinces, and were it enacted for them only, it would lead to its being established hereafter in Bengal, should the Government hesitate as to the propriety of making it more general at present. Feeling you have done little towards a more glorious work until the minds of the natives be prepared by some change from their present insensibility and cruelty, I have written more at length than I intended, and beg your excuse for it."

This letter furnishes a pretty strong proof, that the cruel practice has in it more of the nature of a civil, than a religious ceremony. It is a well-known fact, that in Bengal, at the present time, the Hindoos are far less tenacious of their religious tenets and ceremonies than in almost any other part of India; that they are far less careful respecting caste, and that the brahmuns in numerous instances are guilty of actions which, according to the strictness of the law respecting caste, would degrade them completely. We have heard it mentioned as the opinion of Hindoos well acquainted with the subject, that were the law of caste enforced in all its strictness, there would be few families around who would be wholly safe. Yet the number of widows who are thus put to death scarcely at all decreases. It seems indeed to increase in the vicinity of the metropolis, where the greatest laxness is to be witnessed relative to things wholly religious. How can we account for this vast disparity in the number of these murders perpetrated in Hindooostan, and in the lower parts of Bengal, without having recourse to other motives than those of a religious nature? But the moment we recur to *other* reasons for the continuation of this murderous custom, they present themselves on every side. The want of feeling manifested by the natives to their own countrymen when in danger of death by accident, as in a storm, or even when actually drowning, is known to most Europeans. The venality

with which they are charged relative to oaths, is not without foundation; yet these must often involve life itself, as well as character and property. That they should then be peculiarly tender of the life of a brother's widow, who must at the best be a burden on them to the end of life, and who *may* bring disgrace on the family, is a thing scarcely to be expected. And when we consider the circumstances in which the widow is placed, together with that want of regard for human life, which is both the effect of their religious system and the characteristic of the nation, instead of being surprised that so many widows are every year cruelly destroyed, we shall rather wonder that any escape these fatal lures, when the husband's relatives so evidently encourage the practice.

Such then is the real state of the case respecting the burning of widows, which so many have been almost ready to tolerate under the idea of its being a most sacred religious ceremony, with which it would be sacrilege to interfere. With almost as much justice might the Slave Trade have been regarded with veneration, as a sacred relict of antiquity handed down from the earliest ages;—or the practice of killing all prisoners taken in war;—or that of sacrificing hecatombs of men at the funeral of a favourite chief;—or the conduct of certain banditti in this country, who, (from time immemorial no doubt) are said to seize men and immolate them at the shrine of their imagined deity. *It has scarcely enough of religious ceremony connected with it to varnish it over with the name of religion.* It is generally accompanied with the most unfeeling jocularity. Instead of its being a deed of mere superstition, there is reason to fear that it is too often the offspring of the meanest self-interest. It has not even the features of religion. *It is not binding on all.* It falls only on one sex, while the deed is perpetrated by the other, whom it can never reach; and of that sex it affects only one description of persons, and with these it is professedly optional: were it a religious ceremony however, it would be binding on all. But this class, while generally the most amiable and virtuous, are the most defenceless,—are left as fully in the power of relatives who do not *profess* any feeling for them, as the kid when in the paw of the tiger. It is never equally the interest of the husband's relatives that the widow should live, as that she should be burnt to death. With the former there is connected in *every case*, a certain loss of reputation, and the expenses of maintaining a person to the end of life in whose welfare they feel no kind of interest; with the latter, the full removal of this burden, and a high degree of reputation to their families.

So much do these circumstances affect the case, that were second marriages esteemed honourable, and the children born of them permitted to inherit equally with those of a first marriage, a practice sanctioned not merely by the laws of all Christian nations, but even those of Greece and Rome notwithstanding their idolatry, many think, that this alone would gradually extinguish the practice. But is it right, that in a country so richly endowed with the bounties of Providence, the mere question of interest, the loss of a few rupees annually, should be suffered to doom the most amiable, the most virtuous

of our Hindoo subjects, almost daily to the most cruel death in nature ; merely because their being uninformed in mind renders them liable to the grossest deceptions, and their being unable to support themselves, renders them dependent? We would intreat all our readers to remember, that *murder concealed from public view is murder still*; and, that our not actually witnessing the dreadful deed, when we are certain that it is committed, will do little towards exonerating us from guilt.*

SECTION II.

The cruel rite of Suttee not enjoined by the most authoritative of the Hindoo Legislators and opposed to their views of eminent virtue. Force absolutely forbidden by the Shastras, yet generally employed.

A learned native, already well known among our countrymen by his luminous examination of the Hindoo theology and philosophy, has printed and widely circulated a tract in the Bengalee language, the object of which is to dissuade his countrymen from the practice of these horrid rites ; and has likewise published a translation of the tract in English. The tract is in the form of a dialogue between an advocate and an opponent of the system. The advocate cites various passages from *Ungira*, *Vyas*, *Hareet*, and the *Rig-veda*, which enjoin or applaud the practice of self-immolation. Against these passages the opponent produces an extract from *Munoo*, the great Hindoo legislator, of whom the *Veda* itself says, that "Whatever *Munoo* has said is wholesome ;" which *Vrihusputi* corroborates by adding, "Whatever is contrary to the law of *Munoo* is not commendable." The extract is as follows : "Let a widow emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband."

From this passage the opponent infers, that as *Munoo* directs the widow, after the death of her husband, to pass her whole life as an ascetic, he intended she should *remain alive* for this purpose ; and hence that this direction of *Munoo* is totally opposed to the directions of the other sages ; and that their authority must bend to that of this great legislator. The opponent then adduces, as his next argument, the disesteem in which the generality of the Hindoo sages regard works of merit or demerit, or more properly, works done with the interested motive of gaining future happiness thereby ; and to shew that these are not necessary to the attainment of what the Hindoos esteem the highest state of felicity, absorption in *Brumhu*, he quotes the following passage from the *Veda* : "By living in the practice of re-

* Friend of India, (mon. ser.) Vol. ii. Page 322—332.

gular and occasional duties, the mind may be purified. Thereafter by hearing, reflecting, and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brumhu may be attained. Therefore, from a desire during life of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed." The immolation of the widow being urged on her wholly on interested motives, that of enjoying numerous ages of happiness with her deceased husband as its fruit, is therefore opposed to that system, which, disregarding all actions connected with bodily enjoyment, magnifies the value of divine knowledge as leading to absorption in Brunhu.

The advocate for the practice replies to this; that the later authorities, in directing a woman to burn herself, do not contradict this law of Munoo; and supports this idea by saying that Munoo directs the performance of Sundhya or evening worship, but is silent as to worshipping Huri, by calling aloud on his name, while Vyas prescribes calling on the name of Huri, and adds that the words of Vyas do not contradict those of Munoo. He therefore infers, that when Vishnoo and others command the widow to follow her husband through the flames, they do not contradict the command of Munoo. This the opponent meets with the utmost ease by shewing that there is no analogy in the cases, the performance of Sundhya not preventing any one's invoking the name of Huri during another part of the day, while a woman's burning herself with her husband will infallibly prevent her living the life of an ascetic; and completely fixes the charge of contradicting the imminutable laws of Munoo on those who have prescribed this practice, by quoting *Ungira* as declaring that there is no other way known for a virtuous woman except her ascending the funeral pile of her husband; and *Hareet* as denouncing her refusal as a crime by declaring, that as long as a woman *shall not* burn herself alive after the death of her husband, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form. The advocate for the practice endeavours to justify it farther by quoting the *Rig-Veda* and *Hareet*, as commanding it. This the opponent bears down by various passages esteemed sacred by the Hindoos, which reprobate men's performing religious rites merely from interested motives, and among the rest the following from the *Bhagvut-Geeta*, which he terms the essence of all the Smritees, Poorans, and Itahases, "All those ignorant persons who attach themselves to the words of the *Vedas* that convey promises of fruition, consider those falsely alluring passages as leading to real happiness, and say that besides them there is no other reality. Agitated in their minds by these desires, they believe the abodes of the celestial gods to be the chief object; and they devote themselves to those texts which treat of ceremonies and their fruits, and entice by promises of enjoyment. Such people can have no real confidence in the Supreme Being." These passages the advocate at length acknowledges to be indeed consistent with the *Vedas*, with Munoo, and with the *Bhagvut-Geeta*, adding however, "But from this I fear that the passages of the *Vedas* and other shastras, that prescribe *Concremation* and *Postcremation* as the means of attaining heavenly enjoyments, must be considered as *only means to deceive*." This the opponent of

the practice very dexterously obviates, by urging that these could intend no deception: they only set before mankind *two* methods of obtaining happiness, the one excellent, the other mean and unworthy for those who are enveloped in desire, passion, and cupidity, who, if they had no shastras holding out rewards, would reject all shastras, and follow their own inclinations like an elephant unguided by the hook. To prevent this the shastra prescribes various ceremonies, among which is one for procuring the destruction of an enemy! and of course this for destroying widows.

Unable to urge any thing better, its advocate insists, that after all, a practice handed down to them by Haret and others ought not to be set aside. This his opponent meets not only by saying that this argument is inconsistent with justice, but by urging the violation of their own rule in the very act of burning. The direction is, that "the widow shall voluntarily quit life ascending *the flaming pile* of her husband." Now, says he, "You first bind down the widow along with the corpse of her husband, and then heap over her such a quantity of wood that she cannot rise. At the time too of setting fire to the pile, you press her down with large bamboos. In what passage of Haret or the rest do you find authority for thus binding the woman according to your practice? This is in fact deliberate female murder." The advocate urges as an excuse for this horrid practice, that were the woman to shrink back terrified with the flames, after having recited the usual incantations, it would be sinful, and be considered disgraceful by others. The sin his opponent treats with due contempt, by saying that according to themselves it could be expiated by bestowing the value of three kahuns of cowries, or twelve annas; and justly reprobates the idea of esteeming the prevention of murder a disgrace. The advocate for the practice, driven to his last resort, defends the binding down of the afflicted widow merely on the ground of its being a custom observed throughout Hindooostan. This his opponent first denies, and then justly reprobates, even were it thus universal. On this part of the subject we think it right to add a word or two.

In the burning of widows as practised at present in some parts of Hindooostan, however voluntary the widow may have been in her determination, force is employed in the act of immolation. After she has circumambulated and ascended the pile several natives leap on it, and, pressing her down on the wood, bind her with two or three ropes to the corpse of her husband, and instantly throw over the two bodies, thus bound to each other, several large bamboos, which being firmly fixed to the ground on both sides of the pile, prevent the possibility of her extricating herself when the flames reach her. Logs of wood are also thrown on the pile, which is then in flames in an instant; for to such a pitch of cruel ingenuity have the brahmuns, accustomed to officiate on these occasions, attained by frequent use, that the whole of this process is realized almost with the rapidity of thought. Scarcely a single moment is left to the spectator to contemplate the scene before the unhappy woman is writhing in the agonies of death. The author of the pamphlet under review states, that this practice has been recently introduced, and that it is confined

almost exclusively to Bengal. This information, we have reason to believe, is perfectly correct. A few months ago, in one of the largest cities in Hindoostan, a woman who had devoted herself to death, and had even ascended the funeral pile, leaped out of the flames, and plunged herself into the river. Her relatives seized on her, and dragged her back to the pile ; but she uttered the loudest cries, calling upon the officers of justice who attended to save her from a forcible death. They instantly interposed their authority, and on finding that she stedfastly resisted the wishes of her relatives, ordered her to return home ; and though this scene occurred in a large city highly bigoted to Hindooism, and in the presence of thousands of spectators, there was not the least attempt made to rescue her from the protection of the officers of Government.

Before the late regulations of Government restricting the practice to the cases permitted in the shastras, many instances occurred of young widows, who, having refused to burn after approaching the flames, were forcibly thrown on the pile by their unfeeling relatives, that they might avoid the disgrace attached to a failure in such cases.

The use of force by means of bamboos is, we believe, universal through Bengal ; it is intended to prevent the possibility of the widow's escape from the flames, as such an act would be thought to reflect indelible disgrace on the family. The number of widows burnt in Bengal, however, exceeds, by nearly three times, the number burnt in all the other provinces of Hindoostan besides. Thus in three cases out of four that force is used which renders all resistance on the part of the unhappy sufferer vain. This is totally contrary to the rules even of those shastras which command the practice ; they strictly enjoin that the sacrifice shall be perfectly voluntary in every stage of its progress. Constraint indeed is forbidden by the very nature of the sacrifice. It is called a Suttee, because a woman devotes herself to the flames to prove that she has continued immovably faithful to her husband. Not only therefore must the intention be voluntary, but to evince this, the act of immolation must not include the most distant idea of constraint. The use of bamboos is therefore at variance with the nature of the sacrifice, and with all the rules by which it is supported, and which direct, that she shall not ascend the pile before the flames are kindled. It is the *flaming pile* of her husband, that she is enjoined to ascend : and the immense difference between ascending the *flaming pile*, and being bound firmly down before the flames are kindled, must be obvious to all.

The Supreme Government has now for several years issued various regulations to the Magistrates, strictly forbidding the immolation of widows in cases where the Hindoo shastras have forbidden it ; and surely if "a vigour beyond the laws," be ever tolerated, it should not be when the law has originated in the most savage barbarity, and is held doubtful by the wisest and most virtuous among the Hindoos themselves*—when its operation is levelled, not against the ruffian who eludes justice, but against the most amiable and helpless part of

* Mritunjoy, the head pundit of the Supreme Court, has given it as his opinion, that Brumhacharya, or a life of mortification, is *the law* for a widow ; and that burning with

our Indian fellow-subjects. Under the influence of the former regulations many females of tender age have been rescued from destruction, yet not a single murmur has been heard throughout the country; no one attempt to counteract the wise and benign intentions of Government, or to employ force in the cause of inhumanity. Were the use of bamboos forbidden also, and the horrid sacrifice made to assume the exact complexion which the shastras direct, we feel assured that the tranquility of the country would not be disturbed for a single moment. And if the apprehension that the widow, unable to ascend the *burning pile*, might possibly reflect disgrace on the family on the spot destined for immolation, by a change of mind, should in any case induce the relatives to dissuade a female from incurring the risk, the advantage would be entirely on the side of humanity and justice. Considering, as we do, the British Government to be the greatest temporal blessing which Providence has conferred on this country, we cannot give up the hope indeed that, ultimately, Government will abolish entirely a custom which involves the murder of the helpless and the innocent, almost without the shadow of support from the Hindoo superstition itself. The immediate and complete interdiction of force, however, in the act of burning the helpless widow, while it would be in exact unison with that benevolence which distinguishes our sway over these regions, would subject the natives to nothing more than the strict observance of their own rules.*

SECTION III.

Further illustration of the important position that the Suttee, though recommended by some modern Hindoo Writers, is not absolutely enjoined by the most authoritative: and that the usual mode of its perpetration is not sanctioned by Hindoo Writers.

An examination of the shastras on this subject has produced two opposite opinions; the one maintaining that there is no authority for the practice besides that of custom, and the other, that it is positively enjoined by some of their best and most celebrated writers. After perusing the arguments adduced on both sides, we are led to conclude, that the opponents are, in part both right, and both wrong; and that the truth lies in the middle part, and not in the extreme, which each has embraced.

A slight acquaintance with the Hindoo writings may serve to convince any one, that they are capable of being quoted in defence of many things both unnatural and absurd. What Cicero said of the ancient philosophers may, with equal, if not greater truth, be applied to Hindoo authors: “*Nihil tam absurdum, quod non dixerit aliquis philosophorum.*”

It might be expected, on a subject in which life and death are concerned, and which applies to thousands of respectable individuals, the husband is merely an alternative. Hence he argues that the alternative can never have the force of law.

* Friend of India, (mon. ser) Vol. i. page 305—311

that we should have many volumes to read through before we came to a complete knowledge of the matter, and learned all that could be said in its defence; but this is so far from being the case that, to our knowledge, there is not among the multifarious shastras of the Hindoos *a single work written on the burning of widows!* all that is said about it is to be sought for in different authors, and to be found only in broken fragments: it seems that the subject was never regarded in so serious a light as to be thought worthy of being discussed in a separate and distinct treatise. Among a people who have books without number, on the most trifling and impertinent subjects, it appears rather strange that there should be no popular work on this; there cannot surely be needed a stronger proof of the light estimation in which the affair has ever been held by the natives themselves: and from this, we feel convinced, that is has increased to its present inverteracy, more from the force of custom than from any thing that has been advanced in its favour, or been esteemed sacred in the practice.

As the defenders of the practice have abandoned all reasoning on the point, and have betaken themselves to the authority of the shastras as an impregnable fortress, from which they discharge all their artillery, we shall proceed to consider the nature of the materials by which they contrive to destroy widows and create orphans.

It is, alas! too true that passages do exist in the shastras by which this practice is recommended, though not positively enjoined. From the Rigvaid the following passage is quoted, as decidedly in its favour:—

“Let these women, no longer widows, excellent wives, anointed with collyrium and ghee, enter, without tears, without complaints, excellent jewels, let them ascend before the source of beings.”

It is supposed that these words are addressed to fire as a god, and that they justify the widow in burning. They do appear to recommend it, though they are certainly far from doing it with that clearness which a case of such importance requires. The words are very dubious, and would admit of other interpretations, just as well as that given by those who quote them in favour of female immolation. It is not unfrequently the case, that words are taken up without due examination, and a certain meaning attached to them which, when examined, is found to be incorrect: we do not say that it is so with the words in question; but, since the meaning of them is doubtful, we infer, that it cannot be a good cause which rests upon them as its chief authority; particularly when there are other passages which afford a refuge from the extreme into which they would lead. The Vishnu Smrite* (or Vishnu Riese, see page 33) shews, that though burning is allowable, it is not necessary:—

“When the husband dies, a retired life, or a funeral pile. Let those who desire it, mortify their body, by living on excellent flowers, roots, and fruits; and let them not pronounce the name of another man after their husband’s death.”

* The Bewasta of the Bengal Pundits presented to Government in 1817, gives this text from this shashtra and not from Munoo. (See No. i. Parliamentary Papers printed in 1821, p. 124). AUTH.

From these words it is very evident that the immolation of the widow is not peremptorily required by the Hindoo shastras. Munoo says, "A faithful wife who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead: let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, ever pronounce the name of another man." It is evident that the omission of this cruel ceremony is justified by one of the highest authorities; for the Vaid itself has declared that it is lawful to abide by the advice of Munoo.—"Whatever Munoo has said that is indeed medicine."

But though Munoo is thus celebrated by the Vaid, and his opinion made paramount to that of all others; yet, on this very point, he is contradicted by another writer, who tells us that the case admits of no such remedy as that prescribed by Munoo. His words are,—

"There is no virtue known for virtuous women, after the death of their husband, besides that of falling into the fire."

It is difficult to conceive of a more glaring contradiction to the law of Munoo; and how are we to reconcile these contradictions? To reconcile them is impossible. What then is to be done? A third writer comes forward to help us over this difficulty, and tells us,—

"The shastra that is opposed to Munoo is not to be praised." By this we understand, that it *ought to be rejected*. From what has been above quoted, it will readily be acknowledged, that the practice is recommended by Hindoo writers, though not in an absolute and peremptory form: it may be omitted, upon the best authority, without any disgrace; and this opens an easy way for setting it aside altogether, because the prohibition of it would not be the repealing of a law, but the enforcing an alternative recommended by the shastras.

We find *no arguments* brought from the shastras to prove the fitness and reasonableness of burning widows, and *no effectual attempts* made to defend it, against the charge of *self-murder*: this is the more singular, as it seems to be acknowledged that, if the deed be murderous, no advantage will arise from it. This we learn from the following passages:—

"If the husband be out of the country when he dies, and the virtuous one, taking his shoes, purifying herself, enters into the fire, she is not guilty of self-murder according to the Rigvaid." "But the wife of a brahmun must not ascend a separate pile."

We know not whether most to admire, the reasoning or skill of these two passages. The reasoning is, that self-murder does not consist in a woman's killing herself, but in the manner in which she does it; and the skill consists in this, that the wives of brahmuns, by this mode of reasoning, are, in certain cases, saved from a horrid death: though, if it were so honourable a one as they pretend, such honourable characters ought to be among the first to whom it should be appointed. It is argued not to be self-murder for a woman of an inferior caste to burn herself with the shoes of her husband, should he die at a distance; yet this act is forbidden to the wife of a brahmun: and why? Must we conclude, because it would be self-murder in her? The declaring of the one innocent, to whom it is recommended, neces-

sarily supposes the other, to whom it is forbidden, to be guilty, should she perform the same act. Now we ask, what sort of logic is this? Here are two women in exactly the same circumstances, with this only difference, that the one is the wife of a brahmun and the other of a soodra: and if the latter burns herself it is not murder; but if the former burns, we are left from the prohibition to conclude that it is.

It may be replied by the native advocates for the practice, that the difference in their caste is sufficient to explain this inconsistency: but waving all the arguments that might be brought to oppose such a notion from reason and common sense, we maintain, from their own laws, that such distinction does not afford the smallest excuse in their favour; for only suppose the dead husband to be present, instead of his shoes, and then the case becomes quite inverted: then it is not self-murder, but a sublime virtue, for the wife of a brahmun to burn herself; and in so doing she far outstrips in sanctity the wife of the soodra who performs the same deed. How strange, that the presence of a dead body should make such a difference in the nature of a moral action! We may safely defy any one to prove the immutability of truth, if such grounds of argumentation are admitted. How happy a thing would right reason be in this case! Only let it be supposed, that the presence or absence of a dead body can make no difference in the nature of a moral action, and that, if it is wrong for the wife of a brahmun to burn in the absence of her dead husband, it must be wrong also for her to burn in his presence, and this rite would soon cease to exist; for we believe it is through the number of respectable persons of this description who suffer annually that it continues to be held in repute. From the lines which have been quoted, and which are all we know on this part of the subject, we perceive that, so far from vindicating the deed from the charge of self-murder, what has been advanced rather proves such a charge to be correct.

We can find no reason given in the shastras *why the son should set fire to the pile of his own mother*: and were we left to infer from his conduct on the occasion, what his ideas of the act were, we should conclude that he was conscious of his guilt, as he averts his countenance from the horrid sight the moment he applies the flaming torch. This would indicate some degree of feeling, some consciousness of shame and pain; and yet, if these really existed, or at least to any considerable degree, they would surely lead him, not only to avert his head, but at once stand out against the murder of his mother to the very last, though enjoined by all the lawgivers in the universe.*

We think the burning of widows totally inexcusable because it is in direct contradiction to one of the first principles of our nature, self-preservation. God delights in the preservation of his creatures, and that which he delights in must be happy. He has armed all animated beings with a wonderful power, which repels every effort made to destroy life. From the ferocious tiger to the timid hare, we find the same instinctive property of self-defence and love of life. The Divine Being has shewn us, by the instinct which he has implanted in us,

* Asiatic Observer, (April, 1824), No. vi. page 103—110.

by the structure of the various limbs of our bodies, and still more by the reason with which he has endowed us, that it is our indispensable duty to preserve, and not to destroy ourselves; a duty which we cannot violate without incurring his displeasure. So strong is the attachment to life implanted in our nature, that from time immemorial it has been proverbial: "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath, will he give for his life:"* and that this powerful principle might act universally and successfully, the God of nature has so formed and disposed of all the members of the human body, as to render them most efficient in defending us against danger; and besides this, he has added to human beings the faculty of reason, to teach them how to use these most efficiently for their own preservation: and thus he has defended, with the strongest barriers, every avenue leading to self-destruction. If we add to these principles of our nature the sanctions of revelation we shall find, that of all the crimes done under the sun, that of self-murder is the most enormous. The Divine law expressly declares: "Thou shalt do *no* murder;" and in this prohibition self-murder must certainly be included. The Gospel, which is a system of mercy, declares it as a thing with which all ought to be acquainted: "Ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." Ignorant of these highest of all considerations, and unfaithful to those inscribed on their hearts by the hand of nature, the widows of Hindoos in this country, impelled by false shame, reproach, and the prospect of a miserable existence, break through all the bonds of nature and reason, and throw themselves down to be consumed in the flames with the dead body of their husband. We pity the sufferers, but we must condemn the deed:—

" Shall Nature, swerving from her earliest dictate,
Self-preservation, fall by her own act?
Forbid it, Heaven!"

But there is in this act a violation of the laws of nature, not only on the part of the widow, but also on that of her son, who sets on fire the funeral pile. Nothing can be more evident to a reflecting mind, than that children were designed by Providence to administer to the temporal comfort of their parents. One reason why they are necessitated to be so long dependant on their parents, may be, to impress on their minds a sense of the obligations under which they are laid, to help and console them in return, should they ever stand in need of their succour. All civilized nations have agreed, that it is the duty of a child to honour his parents: hence, when a Grecian lawgiver was asked why he had specified no punishment for the murderer of a parent, replied, that he did not believe such a monster could ever exist; and hence the Romans erected a temple in honour of one who had, in an extraordinary manner, supported a parent, when dying for want in a dungeon. In our own country, if a son, at the time he ought to comfort and sustain his afflicted, sinking mother, should imbrue his hands in her blood, it would be regarded as a crime which no name could designate, and for which no sacrifice could atone. The writer of this very well recollects, that an English child, when he heard the

* This same proverb, though in different words, exists among the Hindoos.

relation of the Bengalees burning their own mothers, very gravely asked : " And, Sir, don't they hang them for it ? " We think the natives have no reason to complain of the want of filial affection in their sons, deplorable as it is, while they encourage them to murder their own mothers, at that very important crisis, when they ought to administer to them the balm of consolation. What idea can children possibly have of filial obligations, when, instead of an outrageous crime, it is considered a sublime virtue, for a son to burn his own mother alive ?

The unnatural friends who urge the mother and son to the perpetration of the murderous deed, the brahmuns who officiate at the inhuman rite, and the multitude who applaud the act, are all guilty of murder, according to the laws of Munoo ; for he states, that in any crime, the instigator, the perpetrator, and the encourager, are equally criminal. If we view things in this light, and consider the number of widows that are annually sacrificed, we shall find that there is no country in all the world so full of murderers and murder as Bengal. It has generally been considered that the burning of a widow is a simple act, which affects only the individual who suffers ; but it is not so. How many urge her to it, how many assist her at it, and how many rejoice in it ! This swells the enormity of the crime more than a hundred fold, because, instead of the guilt of one or two, it frequently involves the guilt of hundreds, and all these by participating of the crime, are exposing themselves to greater tortures than those of the widow, by " treasuring up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his work." The deed is still further aggravated by the cruelty which attends it. To strike a female in a civilized country, is reckoned a great disgrace to a man : but what is this, when compared to the cruelty of those, who bind with strong cords the defenceless widow to the dead body of her husband, press her down with still stronger bamboos, lest she should make her escape, put the torch which is to kindle the consuming fire into the hand of her son, and when the smoke and flames ascend to Heaven, drown the shrieks of the dying by loud vociferations, exult as though they had achieved some great exploit, and return home as though they had been to a feast and not a funeral ? We can conceive of no murder so aggravated as this. The accounts of cannibals destroying and devouring their enemies, is not half so revolting to the feelings of a man who considers the difference of the two cases. To leave a female unprotected in the hour of danger or distress, is considered a greater act of cruelty than that of destroying a public foe ; but because she is unprotected, and because her husband has made no provision for her, to destroy her outright, and that in the most cruel manner, is an act of barbarity to which the annals of time can furnish no parallel. What a striking contrast do we here perceive between the precepts and practice of Hindooism and Christianity ! The one teaches us, that " pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." The other would have us

believe, that pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To burn the widows in their affliction, to render the fatherless still more destitute, and to seek only after the gain of this world.*

From the passage just quoted we learn, that those who assist at these ceremonies, are so far from escaping the charge of murder, that it is irrevocably fixed upon them by their great legislator, who declares, that "*the instigator, the encourager, and the perpetrator, are all alike, either guilty or meritorious.*" Several vain attempts have been made to evade the force of this charge; but it is so plain, so reasonable, and so decisive, that it is impossible for the guilty to escape. If the finding of another passage to contradict this would effect their liberation, they would have some ground of hope; but, when every instance they bring must bow to the decision of Munoo, whose authority is established by the Vails, their case must be hopeless.

Having ascertained that there is nothing in the shastras which frees the burning of a widow from the charge of murder, and that a way is open for her escape from the devouring flames; we next inquire, whether the circumstances attendant on the rite, are such as are sanctioned by Hindoo writers. It is declared in their writings, that the widow who burned with her husband, in former times, ascended the flaming pile, as may be perceived by these words,—"*She who was devoted to her lord entered the flaming fire.*" It has been thought by some that if the natives were required to attend to the ceremony in this its ancient form, the horrors attending it would be so great, that very few would be found possessed of sufficient resolution to encounter them. If we could estimate the precise point at which a blind superstition would stop, we might determine this matter; but while we remain ignorant of this, we can only indulge in suppositions which experience might contradict. However, if the rite must be attended to, it ought to be performed according to the rules laid down by the authors who recommend it. This, if it did not make fewer sufferers, would probably make a greater number of commisserators; it would kindle a flame of compassion in the hearts of spectators, unless their consciences were seared as with a hot iron, and would lead them earnestly to desire the abolition of so terrible a practice. As the business is now transacted, the most appalling scene is concealed from all but Him, to whose eyes all things are naked and open. And what are the arguments which the natives urge for the violence they use in applying ropes and bamboos to bind and hold down the body, in order to conceal the sufferings of the widows? None at all: they cannot find a single argument in all their books to justify it. Are they then without an excuse? That were impossible. But what can they say, if it is contrary to the shastras? "O it is the custom of their part of the country; it has been done so for many years; it is necessary to secure the prey," &c. After having placed their entire reliance on the shastras for the defence of their conduct, we might leave it to the decision of a child, whether they are justified in the

* Asiatic Observer, (January 1824), No. v. Page 21—24.

adoption of measures which these writings expressly oppose, by prescribing a different line of conduct.

Our next inquiry is, into the motives which the shastras present to the widow to induce her to burn with her husband. The strongest influence which they have over her mind is that which arises from the promises made of future felicity, to be enjoyed by herself and her family in heaven. A few writers are very loud in their praises of this meritorious deed: but when it is remembered, that some are equally loud in their praises of the most insignificant actions, and others totally condemn the motives from which they proceed, such encomiums will appear as sounding brass, and such promises as a tinkling cymbal. The promises made by *Ungira* to the widow who ascends the funeral pile, are thus expressed:—

“The woman who ascends the funeral pile with her dead husband, shall shine as a star with him in Heaven. She who follows her lord shall remain in Heaven as many years as there are hairs on the human body, viz. thirty-five millions. As the snake-catcher draws the serpent from its hole by force, so she, rescuing her husband, rejoices with him. The faithful one who follows her husband, purifies the three families of her mother, father and husband.”

Omitting the consideration that these promises are expressed in poetic language, which admits of exaggeration, in order to ascertain how much they should influence the mind, it is necessary for us only to understand the gratuitous manner in which such rewards are offered in the shastras, as we shall then discover, that they may be obtained at *a much less expense than that of life*. If we form our ideas of the merit of a widow’s burning from the rewards attached to it, we shall find that it is not so very meritorious as it is generally represented; for nearly the same reward is offered to the person who presents only a single plantain to Seeb.

“He who offers a single ripe plantain to Seeb, shall, with his relations, be exalted to Heaven for thirty millions of years.”

The only difference in the reward of the person who offers a plantain, and of her who offers her life, is five million years: the former is to remain in Heaven thirty, and the latter thirty-five million years. If happiness can be thus secured, the sacrifice of life to obtain it can be considered as nothing less than insanity.

But it is to be remembered here, that these promises are made only to those who are not fully acquainted with what they are doing. It seems very reasonable, that the female who has to go through the dreadful ceremony, should have a clear knowledge of what she is about, and a mind well fortified by the authority of the holy books to endure the pain of so miserable a death. No such information, however, is imparted, no such consolation afforded; and what is much worse, they are denied upon the greatest penalty; so that should she aspire after them, and succeed in obtaining them, she would not only destroy the merit of the holy act she was about to perform, but lose the enjoyment of Heaven for thirty-five million years, and sink into Hell. The writings held in the highest repute among the Hindoos are the Vaidis; these are said to be to them what the Bible is to

Christians ; if so, then as Christians in all their troubles fly to their Bible, so it appears reasonable that these distressed widows should have recourse to the Vaidas for consolation. But they are told,

“The woman or the Soodra that understands them, will go to Hell after death.”

This shows us how necessary ignorance is to the support of error, and reminds us of those dark days, when the reading of the Bible, by the common people, was thought worthy of present and everlasting destruction.

The idea of the woman’s dragging her husband out of Hell, as a snake-catcher draws a serpent out of a hole, is very degrading to the brahmuns. We are constantly taught in the shastras to believe, that the brahmuns are vastly superior to their wives in virtue, and that their attention to religious ceremonies all their lives secures them final blessedness ; but now it seems that they sink into Hell after all, and need the assistance of the poor creature whom they have so often spoke of, and treated with contempt, to deliver them out of their miseries : we wonder that the pride of their hearts has not taught them to despise such a means of liberation. We leave it to their sober reflections, whether any thing that has been said of them by others, implicates them in so much disgrace as this verse, which they quote in favour of female immolation.

If the brahmuns, whose widows burn, have not done any thing to secure their salvation during their life-time, they may have died by the side of Gunga, which of itself saves them from going to Hell. What need, therefore, can there be of their wives dying to save them ? and how can they be so cruel as to drive the poor helpless widow through flaming fire on earth, and through dismal shades in Hell, in search of one where he is not to be found ? May it not be proved, in the clearest manner, from the shastras, that this is *entirely a needless piece of suffering* ?

There is yet another consideration, which makes all the promises made to the widow both futile and absurd : which is, that they are not only made without the least evidence of their ever being performed, but are fully contradicted by numberless other passages. On this head the shastras contradict each other in the plainest terms : one says :—

“The widows who follow their husbands in death, are all pure, whether they do it from lust, from anger, from fear, or from folly.”

Another says, that “from lust springs sin, and from sin springs death ;” and a third informs us, that these rewards are only offered for the allurement of fools :—

“For the sake of alluring those fools who regard only enjoyment, and cannot distinguish between flesh and spirit, (spirit and not spirit,) rewards are offered.”

What then does all the suffering of the widow secure to her ? It secures her little more than could be attained by offering a single plantain ; and she is expressly denominated a fool, if she seeks for happiness by any such means. Is it possible to conceive of more egregious trifling on a solemn subject than this ? That a person should be allured by flattering promises to sacrifice her life, to secure a reward

either unnecessary, or attainable by the offering up of a single plantain, and then be told that she is a fool for being thus seduced?

Our last inquiry regards what the shastras have said concerning the moral influence of this practice. They have attempted to extol it very highly in reference to the persons immediately concerned, and have asserted, that the merit of the deed is so great, that its influence will extend to the individuals and their ancestors for an almost indefinite period. The very words, however, which they have used to celebrate this conduct, afford to us the plainest proofs of its demoralizing effects. The merit of actions must be estimated by the motives from which they take their rise: hence it is said, that "by God actions are weighed," because he is the only being that can fully comprehend the motives from which they originate. This is a fundamental principle in morality, and a mistake in this must involve serious consequences: to estimate the merit of an action by any other criterion, is like building a house upon the sand. Though this idea is maintained by many of the Hindoo writers, yet in all the calculations that are made respecting the merit of the Suttee, it is entirely left out of the question; and we are told that the deed is still meritorious, though it springs from lust, anger, fear, or folly. Where such a sentiment is maintained, the basis of all morality is necessarily destroyed. What will become of virtue, if by these vices the rewards of virtue may be secured? Can we think of an idea more pregnant with mischief than this; and need we wonder at the conduct of those who adopt it, when they say, "Let us do evil that good may come."

The verse preceding the one which states, that it is of no consequence from what motive the act proceeds, declares that, however unfaithful in heart the woman may have been during her husband's life-time, if she is only faithful at last, all will be well. We ask, what must be the tendency of such a sentiment on the social circle? There is no need, after this, to exhort women to be moral in their conduct: all that is necessary is, to exhort them, should they survive their husbands, to prepare for immediate death, and by one act of faithfulness in their death, to compensate for all the unfaithfulness of their lives. After having freed the woman from all moral obligations during her lifetime, and declared that it is of no consequence from what motives she immolates herself at last, we may indeed wonder what arguments these authors would use to convince them of the necessity of being virtuous.

While the consequences which result from this system to the bereaved families are passed over in silence, those which result to society in general are calculated with no degree of precision. *Ungira* affirms, that this deed will expiate any crime.

"If the man has been the murderer of a brahmun, or ungrateful, or the murderer of his friend, the woman purifies him."

Munoo has declared, that the killing of a brahmun is an unpardonable sin, for which there is no expiation. But, passing by these gross contradictions, we would solicit the attention of the reader only to the moral tendency of these words. We should not have supposed that, a people so mild and so averse to murder, as the Hindoos, would have

trifled so strangely with the subject, as to suppose that it could be atoned for by the burning of a widow. If one murder can thus expiate another, then we may conclude that any vice will produce its opposite virtue. It is happy for this country, that the general disposition of the natives prevents them from turning such ideas to the mischievous purposes of which they are capable. Had it not been so the community would have been deprived, in numberless instances, of its wisest and most honourable members, and the cords of friendship would have been cut as frequently by death as they are now by quarrelling. We are happy to find ingratitude, in the verse above quoted, ranked among the vices of extraordinary magnitude, and placed by the side of the unpardonable sin, the killing of a brahmun. We had heard it asserted by some, that gratitude was a thing so little known among the natives of Bengal, that they had not a word to express such an idea. This is a mistake; yet what must we think of the extent to which ingratitude prevails, when it is maintained not to be ungrateful for a son to set fire to his own mother? And how are we to account for the extent of this bad principle, but by attributing it to that spurious morality which teaches that any crime may be expiated by the murder of an innocent and helpless widow?

We have now considered all the arguments which the shastras contain on the burning of widows, as far as we are acquainted with them, and as far as the native disputants have been able to draw them from the stores of antiquity. We have not quoted every line they have produced, but we have endeavoured to quote every line that contained a new idea; so that what we have stated may be considered as the substance of what they have to advance on the subject. Had the deed been commanded by the shastras *positively and absolutely*, something might have been pleaded in excuse of the practice; but when a way of escape is opened by one of the highest authorities, the continuation of it, appears to us, an indelible stain upon the Hindoo character, and an unparalleled monument of the effects of superstition.

We have, in the discussion of the subject, exposed only a few of the contradictions of the shastras: were they all pointed out, we scarcely think that writings, which contradict each other on almost every important point in morality, would be acknowledged as the standard of right and wrong in cases where life and death are concerned. That the Hindoo shastras contradict each other on almost every moral subject, is capable of proof, and is acknowledged by a celebrated writer of their own.

"The Vaids are at variance, the Shastras are at variance, and there is no one sage whose system is not opposed by another."

Might we be permitted to suggest an inquiry drawn from this acknowledged fact, it would be this: *When the shastras disagree among themselves, ought not those rules in them to be enforced which are most consistent with moral rectitude, and most conducive to the good of the community.*

We shall conclude this essay by summing up the facts which we are able to substantiate from their own writings relative to the burning of widows.

From the whole we learn these important truths:—That the shastras do not require or command a widow to burn:—that in recommending it they have not taken into consideration whether it is murderous or not, but have expressed themselves so unguardly as to leave the subject fairly open, on their own grounds, to this objection; that in case the woman does not choose to burn, they prescribe methods by which she may obtain future bliss, without the pain of burning:—that should the widow burn, upon the supposition that she is a self-murderer, they involve also, in the charge of murder, the son and the brahmuns that assist her:—that they do not, in the least degree countenance the cruelties which are now practised, in binding the widow to the dead body, and holding her down with bamboos:—that the rewards, though apparently great, and on that account imposing, are little more than are attainable by offering *a single flower or plantain*:—that since, according to the shastras, the brahmuns and their families do not go to hell when they die, there cannot be the least need of the widow's suffering to deliver them:—and that the considerations on which this practice is recommended are such as tend to destroy all morality, and open the door to the commission of the most enormous crimes.*

SECTION IV.

Further discussion of the subject of the two preceding sections; being the Review of a pamphlet on the burning of Hindoo Widows written in Bengalee by a Pundit.

This work, small as it is, is in a high degree interesting, merely from the circumstances in which it appears, and the subject it embraces. It is the product of a native press, and is among the first attempts yet made, for these three thousand years, to appeal to the public respecting the justness and propriety of practices received as sacred by the Hindoos, from their being sanctioned by antiquity. It forms one of the fruits which have arisen from the introduction of printing into India; and is the result of that wise and benign sway exercised by Britain over her possessions in the east. Under the Moosulman or the Hindoo Governments which formerly existed here, nothing of this kind could have appeared: as no one durst venture publicly to question the propriety of any practice which professed to derive its sanction from the Koran, or the Hindoo shastras, its advocates would not have found it necessary to bring any discussion respecting it before the public, much less to submit those arguments on which it might rest for support to public decision.

Such however have been the oblique effects of that diffusion of light which the residence of Europeans has produced in India, that the natives themselves begin to feel the necessity of recurring to reason as the test of their conduct in things both civil and religious. They cannot but perceive that this is the line of conduct observed by

their rulers themselves ; that no length of time, no weight of authority, is thought sufficient to support a practice which may be plainly contrary to justice and humanity, and that the inveteracy of any abuse, so far from forming a reason for its continuance, furnishes only stronger motives for its speedy abolition. It was impossible that this should long be altogether without effect on the minds of the natives : they have already begun, in a certain degree, to think for themselves ; and the consequence is, that long prescription, in cases decidedly opposed to righteousness, begins in some measure to lose its weight ; and while the advocates of humanity lay before their countrymen their reasons for doubting the propriety of usages evidently contrary to its dictates, the supporters of them are constrained, however unwillingly, to meet their opponents in the public area, and submit to the judgment of the spectators the grounds on which they solicit their continued suffrages.

The subject which occupies the attention of the natives in the present instance is one in which humanity is deeply interested. It affects not the colour of a garment or some bodily posture in devotion, but the lives of the most defenceless and the most virtuous class among the natives of India. It involves the fate of all the mothers and daughters in Bengal, who possess any respectability in life ;—and the question is, whether superstition shall in Bengal alone consign to the flames, this and every succeeding year, a greater number of innocent victims than were consumed in the fires of Smithfield during the whole reign of bloody Mary, or than disgraced the annals of papal superstition in Britain from its establishment to its downfall ;—whether more fatherless orphans shall be deprived in every succeeding year of their only surviving parent and friend, than were thus bereaved in any year of the most tremendous pestilence ever raged in Britain ;—or whether the voice of humanity shall triumph over superstition, folly, and cruelty.

The occasion of this pamphlet is as follows : for some time past the burning of such a number of widows annually, has greatly affected the minds of many among the British inhabitants of this Presidency, who have been constrained to witness these melancholy scenes. Previously to the Marquis Wellesley's departure in 1806, Dr. Carey, through the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, submitted to Government three memorials on this subject. The first of these included the practice of exposing infants, which existed chiefly in the north of Bengal ; and that of persons devoting themselves voluntarily to death at Saugur Island and in certain other places. The two last practices were abolished by an order of Government ; but the burning of widows has been suffered to continue to the present day. In consequence of many Europeans having expressed their surprise and grief at the prevalence of a practice so contrary to humanity, many natives have at length began to reflect on the subject, and to inquire into the grounds on which it is still continued.

In the course of the last year (1818) Rama-mohuna-ruya addressed his countrymen on the subject, in a well-written pamphlet, reviewed in our number for December last, in which he insists that the practice

has in reality *no foundation in the Hindoo shastras themselves.* To this pamphlet, the work under consideration is an answer drawn up by some of the pundits in Calcutta, who feel unwilling that so laudable a practice as that of burning their widows shall fall into disuse. It is sent forth without a name and without a title page; but from private information, as well as from the pamphlet itself, we find that it is the work of men by no means deficient in learning. It is written in the form of a dialogue between an Advocate for the system of burning widows, under the term "Bidhaok," and an Opponent, here termed "Nishedhok." In the body of the work every authority supposed to countenance the inhuman custom, and every scrap of *Sungskrita* found on its side among Hindoo writers, are given in the original text, as well as translated into Bengalee. The work is valuable therefore from its containing every thing found in the Hindoo shastras in favour of this barbarous practice; and if all this fall short of an absolute and indispensable injunction, the practice will be found to be as illegal according to the Hindoo shastras, as it is inhuman in itself. This work is evidently intended for the perusal of Europeans also; as an English translation, (if it deserve the name,) is prefixed to the original work. This pamphlet not being put into our hands till the piece on this subject given in our Number for July was put to press, we were unable to notice it at that time. We now however redeem the pledge then given to examine it on the first convenient opportunity; in doing which, while we study brevity as much as possible, we deem it a duty we owe to humanity to attempt it in a manner sufficiently full to enable our readers to judge of the merits of the question, as well relative to the foundation on which it is said to rest in the Hindoo shastras, as respecting the answers here given to the objections urged against the practice by the friends of humanity. In our extracts from this pamphlet we prefer quoting its own language for the sake of doing it every degree of justice, and shall content ourselves with merely adding a sentence or a word where the translation is not sufficiently clear. The work commences by the Advocate's urging the claims of his cause in the following pompous and sweeping declaration.

"It is ordained by (the) Srutee, Smrtee, Pooranas, and other sacred books, that the women, on the death of their husbands, should die in *Shuhu-muruna*, that is to burn (should burn) themselves alive with the corpse of their respective husbands; and, that in want of the corpse, (they) should die in *Unoo-muruna*, that is to burn, (should burn) with something belonging to their husbands: which usages the great sages during all the four ages of the world, viz. *Suttwā*, *Treta*, *Dwapura*, and *Kulee*, have regularly maintained in their codes. It is very improper that you throw obstacles to prevent such a matter." To this the Opponent is made to reply, "You say this is improper for want of knowledge of the shastras or law, but when you know the shashtra, you will no more say so."

This forms the signal for the Advocate's unmasking all his batteries and pouring forth on the poor Opponent, every sentence and scrap of *Sungskrita* in support of the practice, which he had been able to muster up. The chief of these authorities is that of *Ungeera*, who,

however does little more than *recommend* the practice. We give his opinion in the Advocate's own translation:—"The woman that mounts the funeral pile of her deceased husband, equals herself to *Uroond-hootee* the wife of *Vushish'tha*, and enjoys bliss in heaven with her own husband. She that accompanies her husband to the other world—dwells in heaven for three and a half cootee years, (thirty-five millions), which is equal to the number of hairs on a human body, and with (by) her own power taking her husband up, in the same manner as a snake-catcher would have taken a snake out of its hole, remains with him in diversion. She that goes with her husband to the other world, purifies three generations, that is, the generations of her mother's side, father's side, and husband's side; and so, she being reckoned the purest and the best in fame among women, becomes too dear to her husband, and continues to divert herself with him for a period equal to the reign of fourteen (successive) *Indras*; and, although the husband be guilty of slaying a brahmun or friend, or be ungrateful of the past deeds, yet the said woman is capable of purifying him from all these sins. Hence," says the Advocate, "Ungeera affirms, that after the demise of a husband, there can be no other duty for a chaste wife than to destroy herself in the fire."

Purasura is then quoted as confirming part of this recommendation, by saying,—"The woman that goes with her husband to the other world, dwells in heaven for three and half cootee years, which is equal to the number of hairs on a human body." *Hareeta* is, after this, introduced as enjoining it by consequence in the following luminous observation: "After the death of a husband, until his wife does not burn (burn) herself in the fire, she cannot get rid of her feminine body." This sentence is to be noticed for the inference which will be found drawn from it in the latter part of the work. The *Muhabharuta* is then adduced as declaring that a woman's burning herself on her husband's funeral pile, atones for her having been a scold or even unfaithful throughout life, and secures her accompanying him in the other world, *maugre* all unwillingness on his part: and this although she burn herself from "amours, wrath, fear, or affection." The highest countenance given to the practice therefore, by their own writers, (and these appear but four, *Ungeera*, *Purasura*, *Hareeta*, and *Vyasa*,) amounts only to a recommendation of it from certain advantages the widow is deluded with the hope of obtaining; that is, the enjoyment of happiness with her husband—by no means to eternity, however, but for as many years as there are hairs on the human body; *after which*, gentle reader, *she must descend to the earth again, and undergo all that vicissitudes of births which, in the opinion of the Hindoos, constitutes future punishment.*

The Advocate for this practice then goes on to notice another authority, that of *Vishnoo-Risee*, who, however, leaves burning *perfectly optional*, in the following language:—"After the demise of a husband, his wife shall either devote herself to *Brumhachurya*, (a life of austerity), or mount the funeral pile of her husband." To do away the force of this option, the Advocate adds, that the choice of a life of austerity would involve in it eight faults or crimes, but which he has

not mentioned that the reader might judge of their nature and magnitude; and that even this option is therefore to be rejected; and thus the hapless widow, according to him, must inevitably consign herself to the flames if she would discharge her duty to her deceased husband. He then goes on to state the authority for *Unoo-muruna*, or a woman's burning herself after her husband's death with some article belonging to him! a practice by no means uncommon at the present day. For this he adduces the authority of only a solitary writer the author of the *Mutsya-Poorana*, in these words:—"In case of the demise of a husband in a distant country, the chaste wife should purify her person by bathing, and then, taking her husband's shoes or another thing, enter into a burning pile to be prepared on purpose." This he justifies by saying, that the *Rig-veda* declares such women not to be guilty of self-murder; which plainly indicates, that if this be self-murder, in the opinion of the Hindoos themselves, it would be condemned. Such then is the whole of the countenance this Advocate, on whom it was incumbent to bring forward the strongest authorities for a practice so repugnant to humanity, has been able to adduce from the Hindoo writers themselves; and this, one quotation from *Oosuna*, condemns in the gross,—it is the voice of nature involuntarily speaking:—"Let not Brahmunes, or wives of brahmuns, suffer death by entering into a separate pile; but for the rest of the women, brahmunes excepted, this law is most preferable." Now when it is considered that every authority adduced in favour of this practice is that of brahmuns, for no shoodra has ever yet become authoritative as a man of learning, this decides the matter at once. If it be meritorious thus to ascend the separate funeral pile, why deny this privilege to the daughters of brahmuns? *Why indeed, but because nature spoke in the breast of this writer!* He was a brahmun, and he shuddered at the idea of consigning his daughter to the flames for the sake of a worthless husband, who might perhaps have treated her with neglect and cruelty all his life. The brahmuns of the present day are, however, far more devout; they are unwilling their wives shall be debarred this glorious privilege, and consign them to the flames precisely as they do others: a plain proof, that a regard for the authority of their own shastras has little to do in continuing this practice; the motive for this must be sought elsewhere.

But to these quotations from *Ungeera*, *Hareeta*, and *Purasura*, the advocates for this practice are well aware, are opposed authorities of far greater weight, and such as completely nullify them and forbid this inhuman custom. These it is the grand object of this pamphlet to do away. The Opponent is now made to quote these, therefore, that the Advocate for the burning system may obtain an opportunity of invalidating them. He first adduces the famous legislator *Munoo*, whose authority is paramount to that of every succeeding writer, as prescribing an opposite course for widows in the following language:—"Listen to the law which *Munoo* has prescribed for the husbandless women. 'After the death of husbands their wives should make themselves lean, by living upon sweet flowers, roots, and fruits; never mind the name of a man, and until the time of their respective death

with resignation and restriction continue to observe the laws prescribed for *Ekputnees*, (those who have married but one husband); that is, they should, with the desire of obtaining the state of chaste women, devote themselves to the law prescribed for *Brumhachurya*. As thousands of young brahmuns who, before their arriving at full age, devoted themselves to *Brumhachurya* and begot no children have gone to *Surga* or Heaven, the chaste women in like manner, who after their husband's death devote themselves to the law of *Brumhachurya*, may attain bliss in heaven, though issueless.' Hence, says the Opponent, *Munoo* has ordained, 'that women, after their husband's death, should spend the remaining part of their lives in *Brumhachurya*.' This decision of *Munoo*'s the Opponent confirms by adducing the following corroborative declaration from one of the *Vedas*, 'Know that whatever *Munoo* pronounced, is a medicine for the soul;' and another from *Vrihusputee*, 'A Sreeti inconsistent with that of *Munoo* is not praiseworthy.'

To get rid of this decision of *Munoo*, which *completely forbids the practice*, is the grand object of this work, and for the sake of this alone it is quoted. This the Advocate, knowing that no commentator can erect himself into a law-giver, and abolish the law itself, first attempts by affirming, (that which no one denies), that it is only the Smrittee *inconsistent* with *Munoo* which is unworthy of regard; but as a woman can live a life of abstinence and chastity after burning herself, these two of course are not inconsistent! Feeling ashamed of this argument, he quits it, and adducing the following sentence from *Jyuminnee*, "where there arises an inconsistency among laws, that maintained by many is preferable," attempts to infer, that the *recommendation* of *Ungeera*, *Purasura*, and *Hareeta*, ought to outweigh the law itself, enacted by *Munoo*. Deserting this argument as untenable however, he quotes a passage from the *Rig-veda*, recommending the practice of burning, and affirms that the law of *Munoo* on the subject means nothing more than that of a woman who may by any accident be *prevented* from burning herself with her husband, or afterwards with one of his old shoes, ought to devote herself to a life of austerity. The author of this pamphlet, while he professes to set the authority of the *Rig-veda* against that of the great Hindoo legislator, is however well aware that the *Vedas contradict each other on this very point*. That he may in some way or other obviate this discrepancy, so fatal to his argument, he now introduces the Opponent as quoting a well-known passage from the *Veda* which forbids the burning of widows in the following words:—"As by means of living still, the duties usual and occasional can be performed to purify the mind, and as by hearing of (and) fixing our mind and devoting our soul to *Brumha* or the Supreme Spirit, we can attain it (final beatitude or absorption in *Brumha*,) no woman should therefore spend her life, that is, suffer death in hopes of attaining *Surga* or bliss in heaven." From this the Opponent infers that, as a widow is forbidden to throw away her life with the hope of obtaining connubial bliss for a limited time in heaven, the authority of those who recommend a widow's burning herself with this hope, is completely nullified; and that

it is clear by the determination of the *Veda*, as well as the command of Munoo, that a widow ought not to burn herself, but to embrace a life of abstinence and chastity.

This is the doctrine which it is the object of the writer of this pamphlet to overthrow. After the Opponent has thus stated it, therefore, the Advocate for the burning system urges first, that to infer from the authority of Munoo and the *Veda*, that a woman, instead of burning herself, ought to embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, would strip the writings of those who recommend her burning herself of all authority! an overwhelming argument truly. He then adduces a sentence from Munoo, to shew that when one Smriti appears to have one meaning, and another a different one, *both are to be held as law!* The plain inference from this would be, that a widow ought to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pile, and to embrace a life of austerity too! To confirm this wonderful exposition, and to preserve the authority of those, who in their zeal for burning, have happened to contradict their own celebrated lawgiver, the Advocate quotes the following contradictory sentence by way of illustration: "In the *Otrata*, or the oblations of clarified butter offered to the consecrated fire, the Shorassee* is to be taken; and in the *Otratra* the Shorassee is *not to be taken*." The just meaning of which, contrary Sutras, says he, is, that if in this sacrifice the Shorassee be taken or received, the sacrifice is superlatively meritorious; but if it be not, the deed is still complete and advantageous. From this illustration the writer, in the person of the Advocate, infers, that if a widow wishes to attain connubial bliss in Heaven, she may burn herself; but if she wishes final beatitude, she may embrace a life of abstinence and self-denial; and then adds triumphantly, "See therefore that a woman's burning herself for the sake of connubial bliss in Heaven has no way been forbidden." The whole of this, if it have any meaning, only goes to say, that even by these authorities, if a widow desires final beatitude she is not commanded to burn herself; and that according to them, all is merely matter of option. Thus then the whole hitherto advanced by the Advocate for the burning system is, that by their great legislator it is not commanded but forbidden; and by those commentators who abrogate the law they pretend to explain, it is merely recommended, and left perfectly optional. But a further examination of the subject will shew, that this recommendation, while viewed by themselves as degrading in the highest degree, is subversive of the whole system of Hindooism. To illustrate this part of the subject, however, it will be necessary to recur for a moment to the creed of the Hindoos relative to future happiness.

The Hindoos throughout India believe the human soul to form an integral part of Brumha, or the Deity, and hence esteem the summit of future bliss to consist in what they deem final beatitude, or absorption into Brumha, of whom they believe their souls to be a part. To the attainment of this, all their endeavours are directed, for the sake of it the most tremendous austerities are performed; and nothing beyond this is supposed to be within the wish of man. But besides this

* Shorassee, the pot containing the clarified butter and other ingredients.

there are, according to their ideas, many heavens or inferior stages of bliss, to be obtained by certain meritorious deeds. None of these, however, is considered lasting ; but the duration of every state of bliss is, according to them, proportioned to the merit of the deed of which it is esteemed the reward. After this period is expired, the person is expected to be born on earth again, and to undergo numerous vicissitudes of births till his mind be so purified as to obtain final beatitude or absorption into the deity, which alone secures a person from the misery of future transmigrations. Their state of misery indeed is esteemed no more lasting than that of happiness ; but every kind of suffering therein, (for there is supposed to be a great variety,) is supposed to be proportioned in duration to the demerits of the sufferers ; after which they also are said to be born again on the earth, and there to undergo all the vicissitudes of transmigration till they become sufficiently pure to obtain absorption into the deity. Hence a woman who may burn herself for the sake of living with her husband in Heaven for a certain period, on its expiration descends to the earth, and, according to the Hindoos, she may be found in Hell in the course of years. For this reason the wise and learned among them treat these evanescent states of bliss with contempt, and contend that nothing is worthy of pursuit but final beatitude or absorption, which puts an end to all future misery. Hence, a woman's burning herself to obtain connubial bliss in Heaven for a certain period, is deemed by them unspeakably inferior to her obtaining final beatitude through a life of abstinence and chastity. The recommendation in which the Advocate triumphs, therefore, even upon his own principles, ought to have been precisely the reverse of what he has made it, since that line of conduct ought to be recommended to all, which is supposed to secure their *highest happiness*.

The Opponent however is represented as approving of this decision ; but for the sake of its being answered, he is then made to urge another objection in the following words : "As in various shastras contempt has been poured on actions done from cupidity, a woman's burning herself from such motives is by no means proper." He then quotes the *Kuthopunishut*, as declaring, that while the pursuit of the system of Sacred Wisdom is considered safe, he who pursues the other system which includes a widow's burning herself, degrades his own nature. This he further corroborates by a long quotation from the *Bhagavut Geeta*, which charges such as follow the system with acting only from cupidity and ambition. This is correct ; for these writers who thus recommend the performance of various religious deeds, though done from the basest motives, prescribe certain sacrifices for the sake of obtaining wealth ; some to obtain Heavenly bliss, —and some to secure the destruction of an enemy ! The whole of this system, therefore, is, by their best writers, regarded as having nothing in it of the nature of virtue ; but as being in reality the indulgence of cupidity, ambition, and malice ; which dispositions, indicating an impure mind, are the very reverse of that which they deem necessary to final beatitude. Among these the Opponent properly classes a widow's burning herself with her husband's corpse, with the view of en-

joying connubial bliss in Heaven for a certain period ; and intimates, that if actions of this kind are not evil, they are at least unnecessary. This fires the Advocate for the burning system, who, to overwhelm his adversary at once exclaims, " Listen then to Srutee, (a quotation from the *Veda*,) ' A man wishing Heaven for himself shall perform Ushwamedha-jauga,' (the sacrifice of a horse;) and again, ' a man wishing Heaven for himself shall perform Jotisuma-jauga' These and other Srutees, are they to lose their *spirits*? that is, to have no effect? Say what is your answer." The Opponent humbly bows beneath the weight of this rebuke, and acknowledges that the Srutee which commend selfish actions are not void and useless, but intended for those who, previously filled with " amours, wrath, and covetousness," are not inclined to enter disinterestedly into the service of the Supreme God ; and that without these Srutees enjoining them thus to sacrifice from cupidity or malice, they, freed from all restriction, would be like an elephant without his guide. To prevent this, says he, certain jaugas were ordained to be performed by them ; as *sena-jauga*, by one wishing the death of his enemy ; *pootrosti-jauga*, by one longing for a son ; and *jotistuma-jauca*, by one wishing bliss in Heaven. This appeases the Advocate, who having thus secured the validity of these commands for performing devotional acts from cupidity, ambition, or malice, admits, that while these deeds are good, still actions done from superior motives are somewhat more praise-worthy. This concession, which might seem unguarded, is in reality made with the view of enabling the Opponent to bring out the last objection he has left, that the Advocate may demolish it like a man of straw. This is couched in the following words :—

" *Nessedhok.* If you maintain that the disinterested actions are better than those self-interested, why do you then, instead of permitting husbandless women to adopt the law of (disinterested) Brumhachura, which gives final beatitude, endeavour to preserve the system of self-interested actions of *Shuhu-muruna* and *Onoo-muruna*, which produce (merely) bliss in Heaven?"

This argument, which the Advocate was aware must appear on the face of the subject, and must weigh in favour of a life of abstinence and chastity in preference to burning, as much as eternal beatitude is to be preferred to a continual vicissitude of misery, he now proceeds to obviate. This he first attempts by urging that a woman in embracing a life of abstinence and chastity would still do it with a view to final beatitude, and therefore from self-interested motives : hence as burning herself would also rescue her husband from the pit he might be driven into for slaying a brahmun, or a friend, or being ungrateful, together with the three generations before-mentioned, and enable the woman to " get herself rid of her feminine sex," he esteems it far more desirable that she should burn.

To this conclusive argument the Opponent replies, " Now your sayings are consonant with the shastras." Still, however, he suggests the probability of women's attaining the state of final beatitude, were they, after the death of their husbands, " to be disciplined in sacred wisdom, which, by burning themselves, they can never attain." To this the

Advocate for the burning system has an unanswerable argument ready, that all instruction would be totally vain ; for, says he, it would be attended with no other success than to condemn them for both the one and the other,” in other words, either they would not live the life of chastity recommended, or they would be too dull to do it from proper motives. He concludes the argument with saying, “ It is therefore very improper that the women who have never been conscious of so much as the meaning of the word wisdom, shall (should) be desired to follow the system of sacred knowledge.” No other mode remains for the poor creature, therefore, but that of preventing their going astray,—or of living chastely from wrong motives, by previously burning them alive. The Opponent is now completely silenced, and at once gives up his argument.

We have now before us the actual grounds on which all those who oppose the abolition of the practice, still desire to preserve this privilege of *burning alive their mothers, their sisters, and their daughters.* It is not because it is sanctioned by the Hindoo law, for their greatest legislator, whose authority is paramount to every other, *positively forbids it* by enjoining on widows a contrary course. It is not that those few writers who have recommended the practice (for none of them have had the audacity to *command* it in opposition to their great legislator,) recommend it as a superior course, the dictate of more exalted virtue, for they themselves despise the course they thus recommend to the poor widow, and regard with the utmost contempt the motive and principle of action they endeavour to infuse into her mind. But this *unparalleled course of murder* is practised *wholly* as a PREVENTATIVE! But as a preventative of what? the effects of their dulness! their inability to comprehend “ the instructions of Sacred Wisdom!” What then would be these effects? That they would live a life of abstinence and chastity from improper motives, from a desire after final beatitude! and thus losing final beatitude, only obtain heaven. Truly their thus forcing their burning system on the poor widow, from principles of such exalted benevolence, outdoes all that the Roman Catholics have ever done in the way of burning heretics out of pure pity to their souls. Yet what does this burning system itself profess to hold out to the poor widow; Only a little evanescent bliss for a limited time. As for the other part, the poor widow’s dragging her murderous or ungrateful husband out of the hands of *Yuma*, as a snake-catcher drags a snake out of his hole, it were much better not done. If he has died under the dominion of such barbarous, or base and ungrateful dispositions, it were better far to leave him in the hands of *Yuma* for a season, to be taught better principles, than to take him with her to heaven with these feelings of ingratitude, barbarity, and murder, remaining within him. A wretched heaven indeed she would be likely to experience with such a monster during these thirty-five millions of years. If he did not *murder* her there, it would be merely because she could not become mortal again, till she had worn out this long period of misery. What then is even pretended as the superior advantage of burning? Nothing: while on their own principles it is optional, the option is quite against the

widow's interests. By chusing a life of abstinence and chastity, she may attain final beatitude, and even, according to them, she secures a certain degree of bliss, though she should be so dull as to forfeit final beatitude through living with this alone in view; while they allow that final beatitude can never be obtained by her burning herself. But is it to be endured that a poor widow should be burnt merely on account of dulness and stupidity? Is it thus that their mothers and sisters are to be treated? Would they not shrink at burning alive even a beast on the funeral pile of its master? Surely it is horrid beyond expression that relatives so dear should be urged to the burning pile to prevent their living a chaste and virtuous life from a wrong motive merely through dulness, and at the same time be told that it is improper to offer them the least instruction on a subject so important, because they do not as yet know the meaning of the word wisdom.

But this honest declaration that their chief motive for supporting this system of burning is furnished by women's dulness and stupidity, brings to light a part of the creed of these advocates for matricide, which few ever suspected to belong to Hindooism. The whole of the sex, every mother, and sister, and daughter, are hereby doomed to *interminable misery*, since they are declared to be such that it would be improper for them even *to be desired* to follow that system of sacred knowledge universally esteemed by the Hindoo writers *the only path* to final beatitude. Astonishing! We have heard that Moosulmans exclude women from the felicity of the blessed, but this is entirely under the idea of their being without a soul. But if Hindoo women have no souls, what part of them is to enjoy this Heaven of bliss with their husbands for thirty-five millions of years? If, in the delicate language of Hareeta, already quoted, "until the wife does not burn (burn) herself in the fire, she cannot get rid of her feminine body," then by that act she does get rid of her body; else, what avails this murderous rite? But if she then gets rid of her body, what is left of her? a soul, a spirit; of course nothing else. But of what materials is this soul or spirit formed? Do they suppose it to be formed of matter, or to be a part of the Eternal Spirit? If they say it is formed of matter they degrade their daughters, and sisters, and mothers, beneath the very beasts around them; for there is not a dog that passes by, a reptile that crawls on the earth, or a jackal that howls by night around their cottage, which they do not suppose to be animated by a portion of the Eternal Brumha. But if they allow that they have souls, and still cannot obtain final beatitude by burning themselves, then this system, while it devotes their bodies to the most cruel death, *dooms their souls to interminable misery*. To what absurdity —to what contradiction even of the whole system of Hindooism, have these advocates for burning their mothers and sisters reduced themselves! After all their pleadings for tenderness to their religious prejudices, it appears evident that this murderous practice is not more contrary to humanity than it is subversive to their own religious dogmas.

But perhaps these advocates for the burning system will urge, that

the fear of the poor widow's mistaking through dulness the way to final beatitude, and only reaching heaven, is not the only reason which makes them so desirous of sending her through the flames to enjoy connubial bliss with her deceased husband, that is rather the fear of something worse. This indeed is strongly hinted by the Advocate, in his reply to the Opponent on his expressing his hope that were widows after their husband's death disciplined in sacred wisdom, they might attain final beatitude, which by burning themselves with their husbands they can never attain. In this reply he, declaring that the attempt would be vain, adds "as you say (advise us,) to discipline them in the sacred wisdom, it would be attended with no other success than *to condemn them for both the one and the other.*" But in what way could their being permitted to live and receive instruction condemn them for both the one and the other; or, in other words, cause them to lose every hope of bliss? Their dulness, even in living a life of abstinence and chastity from an improper motive, could only make them fall short of final beatitude; what then should condemn them to the loss of all felicity? The meaning is self-evident: the writer intends to say, that instead of persevering in a life of chastity they might possibly go astray and thus incur the condemnation hinted, which, indeed, nothing but a deviation of this nature could make them incur, since he has already declared, that deeds done from the meanest motive, from "amours (or concupiscence), anger or fear," are still available in the case of a woman's burning herself; and hence the merit of a life of self-denial and chastity cannot of course be destroyed by its motives. He evidently means to say, that as they *would not* live a life of chastity, their burning themselves is the only preventive of their utter condemnation. And have they then this shocking idea of their own daughters, and sisters, and mothers? Will nothing preserve them in widowhood from a life of lewdness but their being burnt alive? Then a Suttee at once loses both its name and its nature. It is no longer the effect of chaste affection; it is the *highest dishonour to every family in which it may happen.* It proclaims in the loudest manner that, in the opinion of her own relatives, the sister or the mother who is the victim, *is so corrupt in her disposition, so impure in her mind, that they have no method of keeping her from a life of unchastity but that of burning her alive;* for what person, who had not the heart of a tiger, would resort to this dreadful remedy with so near a relative, while any other course held out the least hope?

But granting all this, still is it right that *this preventive measure* should be adopted with any one, much less with such near relatives? Is it agreeable to natural equity that a person should be burnt alive, not *for* impurity of conduct, but *to prevent it?* If it be, ought it to be confined to one sex? ought it not to be extended to the other likewise, or are the mothers and sisters of those who uphold the burning system more depraved than all who dwell around them? Surely, if this *preventive course* be allowable at all, it ought not to be confined to the most virtuous, merely because they are the most defenceless; it ought to be extended farther, to the *advocates* of the measure themselves. If they do not discover an equal disposition to impurity with

their mothers and sisters, they may to other vices equally injurious to society, and according to their own creed equally punishable in the other world. The same *preventive* therefore might with equal benevolence be exercised on them at stated periods, or at least on such of them as seem most likely to perpetrate vice; and if they were less fond of the burning system than they say the poor widow is, they might be permitted to chuse any other mode of dying, and thus the city and the country would, in due time, be purified in the most effectual manner; it might, 'tis true, be somewhat thinned of inhabitants; but the purity of those left behind, and the reflection that all either burnt or hanged on this *preventive system*, were as assuredly in the enjoyment of bliss they would have forfeited by living, as the immolated widow is in the enjoyment of bliss in heaven with her deceased husband, might well reconcile us to the fewness of our neighbours.

The author of this pamphlet having thus far silenced the Opponent, now attempts to justify their binding the poor widow fast to the corpse of her deceased husband, their heaping wood upon her and pressing her down with bamboos. For this purpose he makes the Opponent, after acknowledging that the Advocate for the system had given "the just sense of various shastras," observe, that instead of causing the women to mount the burning pile as the laws direct, they make them first mount the pile, and then, "having strongly tied the said widows to the corpse of their husbands, heap them over and over with wood and large bamboos, and setting fire thereon, burn them to death. We proclaim," adds he, "that you must not slay women in such a manner" To this the Advocate for the burning system does not reply by denying the truth of this shocking fact, or by urging that it is too strongly stated; but he defends it by saying that "in whatever country the practice is to mount the full burning pile, there it is indisputable, (indisputably right); but that in those countries where this is not the practice, this following of local custom is not inconsistent with the shastras, quoting several authors to shew, that the usages and customs of a country ought to be observed. The Opponent is then made to reply that, by this rule, those who, residing in forests and mountains make it their profession to kill living creatures, are to be held blameless. "By no means," says the Advocate, "for the actions of these rude foresters are not approved by men of fidelity, and the laws on the head of *Shuhumuruna* have been regularly maintained by the holy sages, philosophers, and the learned." The plain meaning of this is, that the learned have themselves introduced into Bengal this custom of firmly binding women to the corpse of the deceased husband, heaping wood on them, and pressing them down with large bamboos from a regard to the custom of the country, when no such custom existed till created by them! In Bengal there was formerly no custom of this nature existing; and had there been, the customs of the rude and ignorant are here said to be unworthy of regard; it is the learned alone therefore who have introduced this inhuman deviation from their own shastras, for which they now plead because it does exist!

The manner in which the Advocate justifies their violating the wo-

man's promise to *mount the burning pile*, however, is still more singular. It must here be remarked, that the woman, before she burns, pronounces what is termed the Sunkulpa, which is couched in the following terms:—" *I will mount the BURNING pile.*" Adverting to this the Opponent says, "How can the Sunkulpa be completed, because (when) it is pronounced with a promise to *mount* a burning pile? instead of which they mount it before it touches fire?" This difficulty the Advocate removes in a moment. Says he, "Whatever you say regarding the incompleteness of the Sunkulpa arises from your inattention; for should a little part of a village or a cloth be consumed by fire, it is then said, even by learned men, that the village or cloth was (is) burnt. In the same manner a little burning-pile is also called a burning pile, and in that case the Sunkulpa was (is) not incomplete." As much as to say, that if a single twig be set on fire, this constitutes a burning pile! In this manner do these men, with the most daring effrontery, *sport with their violating even their own most sacred formulas, for the sake of securing the destruction of a poor defenceless widow, in whom nature might otherwise recoil at the doom awaiting her.*

The next reply, however, is, for its *levity* and *falsehood*, if possible, *still more disgusting*. The Opponent is made to answer, "I approve of your saying this; but from what instances the people attending funeral ceremonies (by what authority do the people attending funeral ceremonies) tie up the women that are about to mount the burning pile? and why are they not guilty of the sin of slaying women?" To this the Advocate replies, "In the aforesaid text of *Hareeta* it was (is) expressed, that until the women themselves cause their bodies to be consumed in the fire, they cannot finally get rid of their sex. In which case, should any part of their bodies, while burning asunder in the piles (on the pile) be slipped out thereof, it cannot be wholly consumed." It is difficult to say whether the *indelicacy*, the *shocking levity*, or the *impudent falsehood* of this reply be most to be detested. Granting that the *horrid rite* requires every particle of the body of the wretched victim to be consumed, does their binding her secure this? It secures her *death* it is true; it renders all the recoilings of nature unavailing; but do they bind down every limb of their helpless victim? if they did, would not the cords be the first fuel for the flame? For men *thus to sport with decency, humanity, and truth, in defence of MURDER offered to a British public, is of itself sufficient to condemn for ever the INHUMAN CUSTOM.* We shall only detain the reader with one instance more of this kind. The Opponent having expressed his approbation of this reason for binding women, has only one scruple left, which is, whether those who assist in burning the widow are not guilty of sin. To this the Advocate for burning replies, that it rather exalts them to glory than renders them guilty of sin, which he confirms by reciting the following example from *Mutsya-poorana*, "There was a prostitute named Leelavuttee, who having resolved to make an offering of an artificial salt-hill, one goldsmith, named Heemtura-ghutuka, undertook the work, and perceiving it to be a divine action he took nothing from the girl for his hire, but constructed for her a salt-hill

with so much elegance and neatness that afterwards, in reward thereof, the said poor and theological goldsmith together with his wife was endowed with immense riches, and became himself the monarch of the seven-dweepa universe, with a shining form equal to the rays of ten thousand suns." Hence he gives the Opponent to understand, that whoever assists in burning a widow is likely to reap glory, as well as this theological goldsmith for assisting the prostitute in her devout offering. Thus do the supporters of this system, by the *most idle fables*, as well as the *most indecent examples*, trifle with the *real murder* of their nearest female relatives.

On this subject, as the only reason why this murderous custom is still permitted to pollute the land with blood, when the exposure of infants, and men's voluntarily devoting themselves to death, have been abolished by public authority, must be sought in the idea entertained that it is indispensably enjoined by the Hindoo laws and system, we intreat permission to subjoin a few extracts from a document in our possession, drawn up in *Sungskrita* about two years ago by Mrityoon-juya-Vidyalunkura, the chief pundit successively in the College of Fort William, and in the Supreme Court, at the request of the Chief Judge in the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, who wished him to ascertain, from a comparison of all the works extant on the subject, the precise point of law relative to burning widows, according to those who recommend the practice. This document, as the Compiler of it, from his own extensive learning and the assistance of his friends, had an opportunity of consulting more works on the subject than almost any pundit in this Presidency, may be regarded as possessing the highest legal authority according to the Hindoos. After having consulted nearly thirty works on the subject, current in Bengal and the northern, western, and southern parts of Hindooostan, among which are all those quoted for the practice by the author of this pamphlet, he says, "Having examined all these works and weighed their meaning, I thus reply to the questions I have been desired to answer.—The Juttee Mulla Bilas shastra directs the following formula to be addressed to the bride by the priest at the time of marriage, 'be thou perpetually the companion of thy husband, in life and in death.' Harreita, a later writer, says that it is the inheritance of every woman belonging to the four casts, not being pregnant or not having a little child, to burn herself with her husband." The Compiler afterwards quotes *Vishnoo-moonee* as speaking thus, "'let the wife either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile;' but he forbids the latter to the unchaste." He then enumerates particularly the various rules laid down by him and others who have followed him on the same side of the question, relative to the time and circumstances in which a woman is permitted to burn herself, and in what cases she is even by them absolutely forbidden. These extracts shew that binding the woman, and the other acts of additional cruelty which the author of this pamphlet justifies, are totally forbidden. The *Soodheekoumoodee* as quoted by the Compiler says, "Let the mother enter the fire after the son has kindled it around his father's corpse; but to the father's corpse and the mother let him not set

fire: if the son set fire to the *living* mother he has on him the guilt of murdering both a woman and a mother." Thus the possibility of a woman's being bound to her husband's corpse is taken away: while the act is left perfectly optional, *the son is not to be, in the least degree, accessory to the mother's death*; if she burn herself at all, it must be by throwing herself into the flames already kindled. And the *Nirnuya-sindhoo* forbids the use of any bandage, bamboos, or wood, by way of confining the woman on the funeral pile; nor before she enters it must the least persuasion be used, nor must she be placed on the fire by others. Thus the practice as existing in Bengal and defended in this work is *deliberate murder*, even according to the legal authorities which recommend burning as optional.

Mrityoonjya however shews, from various authors, that though burning is termed optional, it is still not to be recommended. To this effect he quotes the *Vijuyuntee*, "While Brumhachurya and burning are perfectly optional, burning may arise from concupiscence, but Brumhachurya cannot; hence they are not equally worthy, how then can they be equally optional? By Brumhachurya the widow obtains bliss though she have no son." He then quotes several authors, as declaring, that women ought not to burn, because it is merely a work of concupiscence; the *Julwa-mala-vilas* and others as declaring that the practice is merely the effect of cupidity, and not the fruit of a virtuous and constant mind; and the *Mitakshura* as declaring, that by embracing a life of abstinence the widow, by means of divine wisdom, may obtain beatitude; and hence, that a woman's burning herself is improper; adding, that in former ages nothing was heard of women's burning themselves: it is found only in this corrupt age.

The following is the conclusion drawn by this able pundit and jurist from the perusal of the whole of these works. "After perusing many works on this subject, the following are my deliberate and digested ideas: *Vishnuo-moonee* and various others say, that the husband being dead, the wife may either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile; but *on viewing the whole I esteem a life of abstinence and chastity, to accord best with the law*; the preference appears evidently to be on that side. *Vyasa, Sungkoo, Ungeera, and Hareeta*, speaking of widow's burning, say, that by burning herself with her husband she may obtain connubial bliss in Heaven; while, by a life of abstinence and chastity, she, attaining sacred wisdom, may certainly obtain final beatitude. Hence to destroy herself for the sake of a little evanescent bliss, cannot be her duty; burning is for none but for those who, despising final beatitude, desire nothing beyond a little short-lived pleasure. Hence I regard a woman's burning herself as an *unworthy act*, and a life of abstinence and chastity as highly excellent. *In the shastras appear many prohibitions of a woman's dying with her husband, but against a life of abstinence and chastity there is no prohibition*. Against her burning herself the following authorities are found. In the *Meemangshadurshuna* it is declared, that every kind of self-inflicted injury is sin. The *Sankhya* says, that a useless death is undoubtedly sinful. The

killing for sacrifice commanded by the shastras has a reasonable cause, and is yet sinful in a certain degree, because it destroys life. And while, by the Meemangsha, either of the two may be chosen; by the Sankhya, a life of abstinence and chastity is alone esteemed lawful. But by the Vedanta, all works springing from concupiscence are to be abhorred and forsaken; hence a woman's burning herself from the desire of connubial bliss, ought certainly to be rejected with abhorrence."

He further adds, "No blame whatever is attached to those who prevent a woman's burning. In the shastras it is said, the Kundurpa being consumed to ashes by the eye of Shiva, his wife, Rutee, determined to burn herself; and commanded her husband's friend, Mudhoo, to prepare the funeral pile. Upon this the gods forbade her; on which account she desisted, but by Kalee-dasa no blame is attached to them for this conduct. Thus also in the *Shree-Bhaguvuta*: a woman, Kripee, had a son, a mighty hero, from love to whom she forbore to burn herself with her husband; yet she was deemed guilty of no sin therein. Now also we hear of sons and other relatives attempting to dissuade a woman from burning; yet they are esteemed guilty of no crime. It is also evident that a woman, in thus burning herself, dies merely from her own self-will, and from no regard to any shashtra; such the command of a thousand shastras would not induce to die. They merely reason thus, 'By the death of my husband I have sustained an irreparable loss; it is better for me to die than to live;' hence a woman determines to die: and her relatives seeing this mind in her, provide the funeral pile, and say, "if you are determined to die, to die by falling from a precipice would be tedious, die in this manner:" thus a father who has a son determined to go to a distant country, finding all dissuasion vain, at length sends a guide with him who knows all the rivers and dangerous places. The various shastras therefore describe this action as being merely that of one who, having received an incurable wound, is determined to die, whether by falling from a precipice, by fire, or by water."

After this full and accurate investigation by one so able and possessing such opportunities, the subject, as far as relates to the law of the Hindoos, or to the countenance it receives from the Hindoo system, may well be supposed to be fully before the public. All that the author of this pamphlet, assisted by all the pundits who wish for the continuance of the practice, has been able to bring forth as at all countenancing it, is confined to the opinions of five or six authors, amidst that multitude included by the Hindoos under the term of "the learned:" and after the examination of nearly thirty works written either for or against this practice, the hope of obtaining further light respecting it from the Hindoo shastras, is totally vain. A work to be ranked as an authority in point of law, must have been known and read for ages: any work therefore on the subject hitherto hidden, and hereafter brought forth to countenance the practice, becomes, for that very reason, of no authority. The question is now left to be determined wholly on the principle of equity and reason. It is possible that this practice might have originated in the injunction of the shashtra addressed

by the priest to the bride in marriage, "Be thou the companion of thy husband in life and in death." It is evident that Munoo was ignorant of the custom of Suttee, by his prescribing for widows a life of abstinence and chastity. From this, however, certain succeeding writers, Hareeta, and some others, may have taken occasion to recommend the widow's burning herself, with the hope of living again with her husband for a limited number of years. But even by these it was enjoined, that this should be a perfectly voluntary act, voluntary in its origin, and in every stage of it; and that this should be manifested by her ascending the *burning* pile without the least force, and by no force being used to detain her there. And should nature recoil at the sight of the flames, the atonement was only three kahuns of cowries, or about *twelve annas*; after which it is expressly enjoined, that she shall be received and treated by her neighbours precisely as before. Above all, the son is forbidden, in the most express manner, to be in the least degree accessory to his mother's death. If frantic grief urge her to put an end to her own existence, it must be by her throwing herself on the funeral pile of her deceased lord, in which she must be no more assisted than as though she were precipitating herself from a precipice. While nothing can be more murderous, therefore, than the practice and mode justified by the writer of the pamphlet under consideration, nothing can be more contrary to the spirit and intention of even those few Hindoo writers who have recommended the burning system.

While this horrid practice is allowed to have been recommended by certain writers, it is evident that it was never considered as a *law*, or as a religious injunction essential to the duty of a good Hindoo. If it be a law binding even in point of conscience, the greater part of India must ever have lived in a state of direct disobedience to the laws of their own religion; for as the recommendation is directed to widows of every cast down even to the lowest, that of a Chandala, it must have been imperative on all, at least as matter of conscience. Yet, not to advert to what Mrityoonjaya has advanced, that it was unknown in the first and purest ages of Hindooism, if the number of widows burnt in Bengal annually do not exceed a thousand, it must be disobeyed even in Bengal, where it is most prevalent, by at least ninety-nine out of a hundred of the population, and in the western part of Hindoostan by a still greater proportion; while, in the southern part of the British dominions, it is said to be scarcely regarded at all. If this practice therefore form a part of the Hindoo religious system, with the exception of one in perhaps a thousand, this system is, by themselves, universally discarded and treated with contempt.*

This barbarous practice, however, while recommended by a few among the Hindoo writers, has been found by others to involve principles directly subversive of Hindooism itself. Here it is almost need-

* " Supposing the entire Hindoo population of the Bengal Presidency to be 50,000,000, and the annual deaths to be 1 in 33, or above 1,500,000 a sixth of this number, or 250,000 might, on a general computation, be assumed as the number of Hindoo females becoming widows, of whom little more than 600 devote themselves on the death of their husbands." —(Parliamentary Papers, July, 1825, p. 11.)—ED.

less to inform the reader that the learned among the Hindoos have been, for numerous ages, almost as much divided respecting their religious sentiments as were formerly the learned of Greece and Rome. One grand principle of the Hindoo system is, that life must not be destroyed: hence their abstaining from animal food; and hence many have thought it sinful to destroy a noxious or a poisonous reptile. Even sacrifices are supposed to involve a certain degree of guilt, as far as they destroy life, although their being done in obedience to a supposed command, causes the merit of the deed to overbalance its demerit. But it is evident, from what has been already urged, that a woman's burning herself has never been considered as a deed *commanded*. Hence, as *Mrityoonjuya* justly observes, no blame has ever been attached, by any of their writers, to those who have prevented its being done; which would have been the case had it been regarded as a religious duty. Instances enough may be found in the Hindoo shastras of the strong sense they have of the sin of obstructing or preventing a religious act; many examples are related of men said to be destroyed by devotees for interrupting them only in their evening ceremonies. While, therefore, it has been merely recommended by a few, others have beheld it as destroying life without cause, and thus violating one of the fundamental principles of Hindooism.

But many have gone farther, and condemned the *very principle* on which it has been recommended. The ground of this has been already mentioned. The Hindoos maintain, in all its strictness, the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and believe that the human soul is part of the Supreme Being, and that while its desires are impure and corrupt, it can never be re-united to him and obtain final beatitude. Others among them, however, hold that certain deeds, though done from the most unworthy motives, are in themselves so available as to merit a certain degree of recompense; never final beatitude indeed, but wealth, a son, long life, the destruction of enemies, or a certain temporary state of bliss in their *Swurga*, or heavens. In this class those rank who contend for the burning of widows, as is sufficiently testified by one of the quotations given in the pamphlet under consideration, which says, that though a woman burn herself from "amours, anger, fear, or affection," she is still certain of obtaining heaven. But all these deeds the more learned treat with the greatest contempt, declaring them to be nothing more than vice in another shape, the indulgence of a corrupt mind. These writers therefore view a woman's burning herself as perfectly unlawful. Thus those who form the great support of the Hindoo system, totally condemn the very principle on which the practice is at all recommended, and esteem the whole an indulgence of vicious and corrupt desires, while they insist, on the other hand, that the law *commands* a widow to live a life of abstinence and chastity. That these compose the greater part of the Hindoos, may be inferred from the proportion of widows thus burnt alive when compared with the whole population of Hindooostan, the horrid practice prevailing chiefly in the lower part of Bengal, and most of all, within about twenty or thirty miles of Calcutta.

Such then is the real state of things relative to this practice, even

when described by its most strenuous advocates; for the reader will have seen that in the pamphlet under consideration, the admissions of the Advocate for its continuance condemn the practice scarcely less than *Mrityoonyaya* himself. As a *command* it has not the least foundation in the Hindoo system; for while it is *recommended* to all, at least ninety-nine out of a hundred of the strictest and most devout Hindoos have ever lived in complete disregard of it. Had it been otherwise indeed, as the recommendation is general, the country must have been every year a scene of general massacre. If the number of Hindoos in India be computed at a hundred millions, and few will estimate them lower, the least number who die annually must, in the common course of mortality, be estimated at *three millions*; and, as nearly every man is married, and in general to a woman far younger than himself, *a million of widows annually* is the very lowest number which we ought to reckon. Now if only one out of a hundred of these are burned, this will exhibit *ten thousand widows consigned to the flames every year!* but, were the whole million to be thus burnt alive, this country would yearly present such a Gehenna—such a sacrifice to Moloch, as the world has never beheld. A law, however, regularly disobeyed by ninety-nine out of a hundred of those to whom it is given, and this without either punishment or blame, is totally unworthy the name. Such is not the case with the *laws* of the Hindoo system: by these widows are forbidden to marry again,—and not one in a thousand ever marries again. As a *recommendation* then it has not been supported by one fifth of the Hindoo writers on ethics or jurisprudence, nor practically regarded by a thousandth part of those who profess Hindooism. The recommendation is also in *direct opposition* to the command of the great Hindoo lawgiver, who enjoins on every widow a life of abstinence and chastity; and further, it is grounded on principles completely subversive of the Hindoo system, and opposed to that course which the Hindoos believe to be the only path to final happiness. Yet this practice, thus opposed to their great legislator's command—to the very nature of their religious system—and to all their best ideas of virtue, is kept alive in the metropolis and its vicinity by acts of unfeeling coercion, which are the most direct violations of the rules laid down by those few who have at all recommended the practice, while in the provinces of Hindooostan, which is held to have been the chief seat of every important transaction detailed in their mythology, and which contains a brave, noble, courageous race, before whom the natives of Bengal have always trembled, the practice, if formerly prevalent in any great degree, has at this time nearly expired beneath the feelings of common humanity. Yet all these circumstances of additional cruelty are now detailed and justified in an address to the British public, while not the least shadow of argument is brought forward in support of the system; but rather principles are tacitly avowed as the grand motive for continuing it, which discover the most complete absence of feeling for the moral welfare of their dearest female relatives, and reflect on their characters the highest dishonour.

While the discussion of the subject was confined to the native lan-

guage, a certain degree of silence might perhaps have been less blameable. But after a justification of the system has appeared in the shape of an appeal to the public both in India and in Britain, in the English language, it would be criminal to remain silent, and a grievous offence against humanity to treat the subject in a light and cursory manner. And when it is considered, that this practice causes the death of a greater number of persons in one year, who, *if they ought not to be thus burnt alive*, involve the country in all the guilt of innocent blood, than are publicly executed for their crimes throughout the whole of India in the course of twenty years, it cannot be wrong to call to this momentous subject the attention of every friend to his country. How would Britain feel, if within herself a hundred innocent persons suffered death by some mistake of law in the course of a year! How then ought she to feel when in only one province of her foreign dominions nearly a thousand innocent widows are every year burnt to death? Were this inhuman persecution, which, in the number of its annual victims, exceeds all that papal superstition ever brought to the stake in Britain in the course of a century, directed by the supporters of this practice against any particular *sect*, or class of men, they would long ago have appealed to their rulers for redress, or they would have left the spot where they were treated with such cruelty. But how can mothers and sisters make an appeal against their own relatives? How can a wife, a mother, withdraw from her own family? They may endure continual agony under the apprehension of the dreadful doom which they know awaits them on the first fatal attack of disease on their husbands,—they may feel their anguish renewed at the sight of every female neighbour they behold led forth to the flames—they may tremble at every touch of disease that affects their husbands, and weep at every recollection of their hapless children;—but can they leave the scene of suffering? can they make known their sorrows? dare they bewray, even in the slightest degree, the anguish which preys on their vitals? They lie bound as sheep for the slaughter;—and thus they must remain, suffering in silence, till *British feeling and sympathy shall duly realize their hitherto unknown, unpitied misery.**

SECTION V.

The present partial interference of the British Government promotes the INCREASE, CELEBRITY, and SUPPOSED LEGALITY of the Suttee.

THE sentiment of the Poet, “‘Tis but lame kindness that does its work by halves,” applies with peculiar force to the regulations enacted in British India relative to the burning of widows. This will appear by the following extracts from the Parliamentary Papers relating to Hindoo widows: No. i, ii, iii, iv,; printed July, 1821; June, 1823; June, 1824; and July, 1825.—

* Friend of India, (monthly series), Vol. ii. Page 453—483.

"It appears to me that, if the practice is allowed to exist at all, the less notice we take of it the better, because the apparent object of the interference of the police is to compel the people to observe the rules of their own shastras, (which of themselves they will not obey), by ascertaining particular circumstances of the condition of the widow. The object of the interference does not appear to answer the proposed end: for, with the same means of obtaining information, the number of widows burnt in 1817 far exceeds that in the preceding years. It is true, that the interference of the police may, in some cases, have induced compliance with the rules of the shastras; but *the official attendance of the darogah stamps every regular Suttee with the sanction of Government*; and I must humbly submit, that authorizing a practice is not the way to effect its gradual abolition."* (W. Ewer, Esq., Act. Sup. of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta, Nov., 1818.)

"Mr. Chapman entirely agrees with Mr. Oakley that the interference of Government has been a cause of the increased prevalence of Suttee."† (W. Ewer, Esq., &c.)

"I should not deem it improbable that the interference of the police officers, under the orders of Government, may have tended to increase the practice, by acting as a stimulus, in the same manner that the interference of European Governments with the religious tenets of any sect, has always tended to increase the zeal and confirm the prejudices of the sectaries."‡ (J. Ewing, Esq., Magistrate, Sylhet.)

"Previous to 1813, no interference on the part of the police was authorized, and widows were sacrificed legally or illegally as it might happen; but the Hindoos were then aware that the Government regarded the custom with natural horror, and would do any thing short of direct prohibition to discourage and gradually to abolish it. The case is now altered. The police officers are ordered to interfere, for the purpose of ascertaining that the ceremony is performed in conformity with the rules of the shastras, and in that event to allow its completion. This is *granting the authority of Government for the burning of widows*; and it can scarcely be a matter of astonishment that the number of the sacrifices should be doubled when *the sanction of the ruling power is added to the recommendation of the shashtra*."§ (H. Oakley, Esq., Mag., Hooghly, Dec., 1818.)

"The Governor General in Council is reluctantly led to express his apprehension that the greater confidence with which the people perform this rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avowed in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question, may have tended to augment, rather than diminish, the frequency of these sacrifices."|| (Calcutta, Dec., 1819.) The increase here referred to was evident from the returns of Suttees in the several districts subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, viz., in the year,

" 1815	378.
1816	442.
1817	707."¶

* Par. Papers, No i. p. 229. † p. 232. ‡ p. 232. § p. 236. || p. 242. ¶ p. 241.

Relative to the increase of Suttees, the Magistrates in the Alappore district remark, "The abstract statement of the number of Suttees exhibits the frequency of these abominable sacrifices so progressively and materially increased since the period referred to, (from 1815 to 1818), as to justify our being confirmed in the belief, before more than once expressed by this, to the superior Court, that any interference, save that of *a total prohibition under the severest penalties*, will ever be productive of a mistaken spirit of jealousy and opposition, which will hope by encouraging the prevalence of this superstitious usage, to induce us to discontinue altogether our interference."* (Alappore, March, 1819.)

"As far as my observation goes, I shall say that the humane intentions of the framers of the regulations regarding these ceremonies will not be fully answered. It can hardly be doubted but that the necessary presence of the police officers of Government, at these immolations, stamps on them that character of *strict legality* and seem to afford them that degree of *countenance* on the part of Government which must produce an evil effect."† (J. F. Petty, Esq., Mag., Southern Conean.)

"After having weighed, with every deliberation, the mode of carrying into effect the intention of Government, I became most fully satisfied that if the prohibitory points to the sacrifice were to be determined by native police officers, the practice of this awful rite would shortly multiply manifold."‡ (J. Marriott, Esq., Mag., Tannah, Sep. 1819.)

"Our Government, by modifying the thing and issuing orders about it,—orders which even the Government and the Sudder Judges themselves do not appear clearly to comprehend, have thrown the ideas of the Hindoos upon the subject into a complete state of confusion. They know not what is allowed and what interdicted; but, upon the whole, they have a persuasion that our Government, whom they most erroneously suppose to be indifferent about the lives of the natives, are *rather favourable to Suttees than otherwise*. They will then believe that we abhor the usage when we prohibit *in toto* by an absolute and peremptory law. They have no idea that we might not do so with the most perfect safety. *They conceive our power and our will to be commensurate.*"§ (C. Smith, Esq., Second Judge, Calcutta, Aug., 1821.)

The Hon. the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Governor General in Council, under date London, June, 1823, thus express their opinion upon the subject of partial interference,—"To us it appears very doubtful (and we are confirmed in this doubt by respectable authority) whether the measures which have been already taken have not tended rather to increase than to diminish the frequency of the practice. Such a tendency is, at least, not unnaturally ascribed to a Regulation which, *prohibiting a practice only in certain cases, appears to sanction it in all others*. It is to be apprehended, that where the people have not previously a very enthusiastic attachment to the custom, a law which shall explain to them

* Par. Papers, No. i. p. 218. † p. 254. ‡ 255, 256. § No. ii. p. 67.

the cases in which it ought not to be followed may be taken as a direction for adopting it in all others. It is, moreover, with much reluctance that we can consent to make the British Government, by a specific permission of the Suttee, *an ostensible party to the sacrifice*; we are averse also to the practice of making British Courts expounders and vindicators of the Hindoo religion, when it leads to acts which, not less as Legislators than as Christians, we abominate."*

"A general opinion prevails (in which I most cordially concur), that, in order to reduce the frequency of this rite, it should be neglected and treated with as little notice as possible."† (J. J. Sparrow, Esq., Col. & Mag., S. Concan, Feb., 1822.)

The opinions of the second, third, and fifth Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut in Calcutta, are as follows:—

"The second Judge cannot subscribe to any instructions that have a tendency to *modify, systematize, or legalize the usage*, or that appear to regard a legal Suttee as at all better than an illegal one. He is convinced, that if this mode of issuing orders under the sanction of Government to regulate Suttées is continued, *the practice will take such deep root, under the authority of the supreme power of the country, that to eradicate it will become impossible*. The usage will be much more likely to fall into disuse under a total neglect on the part of Government, than under the present system of attention and inquiry, which serves but to keep the feelings of the Hindoo population alive upon the point, and to give a sort of interest and celebrity to the sacrifice, which is in the highest degree favourable to its continuance and extension."‡ (C. Smith, Esq.)

"I conceive that we have already done a great deal of mischief in this way, and that instead of diminishing we have increased the evil."§ (J. T. Shakespeare, Esq.)

"I confess that my own opinion inclines me to impute to the Regulations a positively pernicious tendency, in proportion to the degree in which they have brought the sacrifices under the more immediate cognizance of the officers of Government, whose presence at the ceremony, instead of operating as a restraint, has, I am afraid, contributed to invest it with additional solemnity, and to confer on the performance of it, in the mistaken view of the natives, a species of *authoritative sanction* which it was not before considered to possess."|| (W. B. Martin, Esq.)

"It can hardly be doubted but that the printed work regarding Suttées has given the ceremony, in the eyes of the natives, *a stamp of legality which in our Provinces—it never before possessed*; and it may therefore be questioned whether, upon the whole, more harm than good may not have followed its publication."¶ (Bombay, Jud. Cons., June, 1820.)

"This permission I found that the people most ignorantly and perversely abused; and, at every stage of my argument with them, an appeal was made to the *order of Government*, as a vindication of their conduct. There can be no doubt of the benevolent intention of Go-

* Par. Papers, No. iii. p. 45. † p. 48. ‡ No. iv. p. 148. § p. 149. || p. 149.
¶ p. 156.

vernment in issuing such an order, and as little of its beneficial influence in many instances, as it prevents the employment of force; but, the people construe it into *a direct approval* of the dreadful act; and for a long time ‘*The order of Government*’ seemed to form a triumphant answer to all my arguments.’” And again:—“The only answer they attempted to give was, ‘It is the custom, and we have got the Government order for so doing.’”* (Extracts from *Bombay Courier*, Oct., 1824.

From these observations it is presumed that partial interference with the burning of Hindoo widows has not been attended with the desired end—the discountenance and decrease of Suttees; but that rather the appalling evil has increased in enormity, celebrity, and supposed legality. Humanity and justice dictate “a more excellent way,” enjoining the ancient precept of the Almighty to Noah and his sons—“Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” (Gen. ix. 6.) May Britain “awake to righteousness,” nor fear to spread the shield over the heads of the deluded and oppressed widows daily appointed to death by this unnatural and suicidal custom, and doubtless “the blessing of those who were ready to perish will come upon her, and she will cause the widow’s heart to sing for joy.”

SECTION VI.

Authorities to confirm the propriety and safety of the immediate suppression of Suttees.

THE papers relating to the burning of Hindoo widows, printed by order of the Hon. the House of Commons, contain numerous authorities for the immediate suppression of this *dreadful rite*. “From what I have heard of several very respectable brahmuns, I am almost satisfied that the exercise of a very trifling degree of authority would put a stop to this perversion of reason and humanity. It appears that the late *Peishwa* frequently *personally exerted himself* to dissuade women from becoming Suttees; and that he always took upon himself the charge of supporting those who attended to this advice. I shall be glad to use my influence at this place, in a similar manner, if authorized by you, and have little doubt of the success of my interposition, in the majority of cases that may occur, when I have it in my power to assure the women of the means of subsistence.”†—(H. Pottinger, Esq., Collector; addressed to the Hon. M. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, Oct., 1818.)

“The letter from the Magistrate of Chinsurah deserves the serious attention of the Nizamut Adawlut and the Government. It appears that this abhorrent, and often utterly illegal practice, was forbidden by the foreign Governments of those settlements: and that the prohibition was obeyed without a murmur. So little do the people ap-

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 212, 213. + No. i. p. 65.

pear to have interested themselves in the affair, that we find, from Mr. Forbes' letter, that the mere publication of an order from himself prohibiting the practice, effectually prevented it, and that no single instance of a woman burning herself has occurred since. Women cannot burn or be burnt within the Supreme Court, and as we do not find that this prevention has excited the slightest religious alarm in Calcutta, we beg to call the attention of the Nizamut Adawlut to the fact, in proof that no necessity whatever exists why those who assist in killing women in this way should not be treated as murderers in other parts of the British territories."* (E. Watson, Esq., Allypore, April, 1816.)

"If the British, *in imitation of the Moghul Government*, were to lay an immediate and positive inhibition upon it, and would declare the parties aiding in the ceremony indictable for murder, and proceed against them accordingly, *it must totally die away*; but if tolerated, under whatever restrictions, I do not hesitate to pronounce that it will, in a short time, become nearly as prevalent as it now is in Bengal."† (W. Wright, Esq., Furruckabad, April, 1819.)

"I do not think that much, if any, difficulty would be experienced in abolishing the custom of Suttee, if a law for that purpose were to be established."‡ (W. P. Pechell, Esq., Mag., Chittagong, Dec. 18.)

"I do not hesitate in offering my opinion, that a law for its abolition would only be objected to by *the heirs*, who derive worldly profit from the custom,—by brahmuns, who partly exist by it,—and by those whose depraved nature leads them to look on a sacrifice as an highly entertaining show; at any rate the sanction of Government should be withdrawn without delay. The adoption of this measure will most likely be followed by a decrease in the number of Suttees, and the *Magistrate's feelings will not be outraged, as they frequently are at present*, by compelling him to so barbarous a custom."§ (H. Oakley, Esq., Mag., Hooghly, Dec., 1818.)

"The interference of Government is well understood to be the Christian wish of humanity. The Rajah of this place is a Mussulman; and the Hindoos seem generally willing to embrace the excuse of the will of the reigning power to evade the Suttee, believed of their little-read, and less understood shastra."|| (R. Morrieson, Esq., Sory Burthom, Dec. 1818.)

"A law might doubtless be promulgated for the abolition of this practice, without causing any serious disturbance. It has already been done in regard to the sacrifice of children at Saugor and elsewhere, as well as the practice of destroying female infants, and the burying alive of women. Why, if these customs, which were also generally practised, have been abolished by a humane Government, should not the practice of Suttee be abolished? The destruction of a woman, or of a child, in the eye of the law, is equal; the free consent alleged in palliation of the sacrifice appears to me inadmissible; that is, no fair judgment can be passed upon a person *non compos mentis*, assenting to the performance of this act; for can a person be called actually in a sound state of mind and reason under the agitation of

* Par. Papers, No. i. p. 99, 100. † p. 212. ‡ p. 233. § p. 237. || p. 238.

grief? and would a person's deposition, under this state of mind, be received in a court of justice in a case where life and death are at stake? Look at the statements; they exhibit a class of people who must have been generally ignorant of the shastras."* (E. Lee Warner, Esq., Mag., 24 Pergunnahs, Calcutta, Dec., 1818.)

C. Chapman, Esq. Magistrate in JESSORE, under date Dec., 1818, thus addresses the Acting Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta, relative to Suttees:—"Any law, abolishing the Suttee, would be attended with no other effect than it should have under every good system of Government—the *immediate and due observance of its enactments*. I would most willingly undertake to promulgate any orders regarding its abolition, throughout the district under my charge, without dread of any ill consequences arising from the interference of Government."[†]

G. Forbes, Esq., first Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, thus writes to the Register of the Nazamut Adawlut, Aug., 1819:—"I take this opportunity to express my concurrence in the opinion which I found to prevail with *the judicial officers at the several stations*, with whom I conversed on the subject, that the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, if prohibited by Government, might be effectually suppressed without apprehension of any serious obstacles. I am happy in being able to adduce an instance of effectual interference in the suppression of this barbarous custom under British authority. In the territory of Delhi, the late resident, Mr. Metcalfe, never (when apprised of the intention) permitted the burning of a widow to take place, and was prepared to prevent the practice, whenever necessary, by forcible interference, but which was requisite *ONLY ON ONE OCCASION* that came under his immediate observation. I have been induced to mention the instance of successful interference by the Resident of Delhi, as affording an example which I believe nearly every Magistrate in the country would, if authorized, be most happy to follow; and in order to show that there appears no insurmountable obstacle to a measure, with regard to the exigency of which, if shown to be practicable, there can be but one sentiment."[‡]

F. Warden, Esq., one of the Members of Council in Bombay, thus declares his opinion:—"I am convinced of the practicability of abolishing not only *this*, but also *every other sanguinary practice of the Hindoos*, and without endangering either the popularity or the security of our supremacy."[§]

J. O. Tod, Esq., Judge in the Masulipatam Zilla, under the Madras Presidency, thus expresses his opinion relative to suppressing Suttees, July, 1819:—"The practice is by no means common in this part of the country; and that it might be altogether abolished by an ordinance of Government, without offence to the religious feelings or prejudices of the natives seems, not impossible from the following circumstance:—Application was once made to the criminal Judge, when he held the office of Magistrate, by the relations of a widow, for his permission to burn herself with the dead body of her husband. He

* Par. Papers, No. i. p. 239. + p. 241. † p. 243. § p. 261.

informed them that the British Government made it a rule never to interfere with the religious prejudices or customs of the natives, and that therefore he would not give any order whatever to the woman *herself*, who might act as she should think became her; but he assured them that he would immediately commit, *as accomplices in the murder*, all persons who should in any way assist her to destroy herself, and the consequence was, that the woman did not burn, but is alive and well at this day. This measure did not cause the least dissatisfaction, on the contrary, the relations of the woman appeared pleased at her having obtained a decent pretext for avoiding the horrid ceremony.*

The Parliamentary Papers, No. iii, printed June, 1824, contain little beside a detail of the number, names, casts, &c. of Suttees in 1821. The following expression of public opinion relative to the abolition of the burning of widows, appears important :—

“ As far as every information I can obtain, this revolting ceremony could be altogether prevented, by a short prohibitory enactment of the Legislature.”† (R. C. Plowden, Esq., Barriopore, June, 1822, to C. H. Hopper, Esq. Mag., of the 24 Pergunahs, Calcutta.)

Inquiry having been made by the Superintendent of Police, Madras, relative to a woman desirous of burning herself, though dissuaded by her relatives, yet those relations, upon her persisting in her intentions, desiring she should be permitted to do so, received the following reply from the Secretary of Government, dated Fort St. George, March 7, 1823 :—“ I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday’s date, and to express the opinion of the Hon. the Governor in Council, that all practicable means should be employed for preventing the woman in question from making the intended sacrifice of herself. With that view, her relations should be informed, that *such a practice being contrary to the established usage of this place, cannot obtain the sanction of Government*, and that it is considered to be their duty to use their strongest persuasions and influence to induce her to forego her intentions. You will also apprise them that they will be held answerable for any interference of a contrary tendency.”‡

The success attending efforts to discountenance the perpetration of Suttees under the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay have been attended with great encouragement, and shew the facility of entirely suppressing this *unnatural and murderous rite*. According to the returns of Suttees for the Madras Presidency, from 1817 to 1819, the number was 183; from 1821—1823 no returns, average per annum sixty-one.

Under the Bombay Presidency, from 1819 to 1823, 245, average per annum 49. Who can doubt whether these few individuals sacrificed every year could not be saved in those extensive territories without exciting the least commotion! Nor is the evil under the Bengal Presidency (containing probably a population of 50,000,000,) so great as to deter exertions for its suppression, the number of Suttees being, from

* Par. Papers, No. ii. p. 85. † No. iii. p. 4. ‡ p. 51.

1819—1821, 3059, average per annum 611.* Might not British humanity, magnanimity, and piety, rescue these without the least danger to the state? The multitude of counsellors reply in the affirmative.

The nature of the system of disconcerting Suttees pursued on the Madras side of India is as follows:—"Where, (says the writer of the following article, in a Calcutta paper), the immolation of widows though once frequent, is now seldom known."

"Before any woman can destroy herself by burning, permission must first be obtained from the Magistrate. On the request being referred, the applicant is directed to wait a little for an answer; the Magistrate in the mean time sends for his Cutwal and instructs him to proclaim that a certain widow intends burning herself, but should any Bunian or Bukall be discovered selling any article required for the purpose to the said woman, or any cooly (labourer) offering his assistance by carrying oil, wood, &c. to the spot appointed, the former shall be turned out of the bazar, and the latter otherwise punished. It is also proclaimed, that should any crowd collect, the police peons are constantly to disperse it, and to confine to the Cutwal's Choultry all persons resisting the police authority; further, should any brahmun belonging to the public offices be seen in the crowd, or any of his relations be found aiding and abetting in the ceremony, *such servant shall be discharged from his situation.* The whole of this being proclaimed, the applicant is desired to take leave. As may be expected it has been observed, that *with these restrictions no burning has taken place!* The prevailing practice therefore with us may be said to be a complete remedy, and points out that a remedy exists for the prevention of so material an evil. It is briefly this—*prevent a crowd from collecting to witness the immolation, and rest assured no such ceremony proceeds!* Mark the disappointment of the brahmun when he discovers that a crowd (for what is a Hindoo ceremony or feast without a concourse of people!) cannot be collected; mortified, he abandons the victim of his persuasion to shift for herself. His zeal is exerted in proportion to his expected popularity, or to the worldly advantage he is to derive. So it is with the poor deluded widows, harassed and goaded into assent to they know not what; ninety-nine out of a hundred of them secretly rejoice that their attempt at self-destruction has been, by the above means, frustrated. As the remedy can hardly be said to be attended with coercion, it appears no difficult undertaking to introduce the practice of it in Bengal, and hereby render an essential service to the Hindoo community." (R. S. Moligaipore, March, 1823.)

J. H. Harrington, Esq., officiating Chief Judge in Calcutta, in a minute relative to the Suttee of considerable length and interest, dated June, 1823, gives much information upon the subject before us. This document was forwarded to the Court of Directors by the Governor-General, Dec., 1824. See Par. Papers, No. iii, printed July, 1825, p. 8—18. A few extracts cannot but be interesting:—

"I am desirous of putting upon record some considerations which appear to merit attention in any future deliberation upon this import-

* See Account of the York Meeting for the Suppression of Suttees, p. 21.

ant question, and which, I acknowledge, have produced in my own mind a strong belief, if not a full conviction, that whenever it may be judged expedient to suppress this barbarous practice by legal prohibition, instead of restricting it to what is sanctioned by the shastra, as at present, *it will not be found impracticable, or, as far as I can judge, be attended with any serious political danger.* It is probable that a proclamation to this effect (abolishing the practice) would not at once prove completely effectual; secret immolations would still take place occasionally, and in some instances the widow, under a paroxysm of grief, and the delusion of superstition, might be expected to devote herself on her husband's funeral pile, or otherwise, even without brahminical assistance; but such cases would be rare in comparison with the number of sacrifices which now take place annually, either with or without the knowledge of the police officers; and after a few examples for wilful deviation from the rule newly promulgated, (which should of course be made with tenderness in the early infliction of penalties,) *I have no doubt that the practice would be soon abandoned as unsanctioned by Government, and subjecting the aiders and abettors to punishment by the criminal Courts.* On a deliberate view of all those instances in which the laws, customs, and prejudices of the Hindoos, when found to be at variance with the principles of justice and good society, have been necessarily superseded and abrogated by the laws and regulations of the British Government,* and in the whole of which such supercession has been quietly submitted to, *as obviously and exclusively originating in motives of equity and humanity, unconnected with any degree of religious intolerance,* we may, I think, safely conclude that a similar result will attend the enactment of a legislative provision to prevent the yearly sacrifice of several hundreds of deluded unoffending females, born and living under the protection of the British Government, whenever it shall be deemed expedient to make and promulgate the requisite enactment for that purpose."

This interesting document thus closes. Referring to certain probable excesses in the perpetration of Suttees, it is added, "In such a state of things I could not hesitate to adopt the opinion expressed by the second Judge of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, that the toleration of the practice of Suttees is a reproach to our Government; and even now I am disposed to agree with him, '*that the entire and immediate abolition of it would be attended with no sort of danger.*'"

Among the papers forwarded to the Hon. Court of Directors was one containing, says Mr. Harington, "an extract from a well-written paper, 'On female immolation,' published in the valuable periodical work, entitled 'The Friend of India,'† which the late Sir Henry Blossett and myself read on our voyage to India, and which appeared to

* Such as the execution of brahmuns: suppressing the sacrifice of children at Saugur; preventing women and children, in the provinces of Benares, from burning in a *koorh*, or circular inclosure, on the approach of a public officer to serve any judicial process on brahmuns; abolishing Dhurna, infanticide among the Rajkoomars, &c.—See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iv. p. 330.

+ See *Friend of India*, (quar. ser.) No. iii. March, 1821.

both of us a powerful and convincing statement of the real facts and circumstances of the case."* A few passages from it may be interesting :—

" We are confident that the continuance of the practice stands on the doctrine of *expediency alone*. This is its only prop ; of which could it once be deprived it would fall beneath the weight of justice and humanity. And considering the British supremacy in the East as the greatest blessing which the natives have yet received, it does become a duty to look forward to remote consequences which may attend any act of benevolence. The Government of this country has done much to alleviate the misery of India, and to counteract the mischief of its native depravity ; and were it practicable with one stroke of the pen to remove every misery, and diffuse happiness through the country, we are sure it would not be withheld for a moment. It cannot therefore be improper to weigh the question of expediency, and to collect into one focus all the light which can be obtained on the subject from our preceding transactions in India. And if it should thence appear that we have not hitherto been arrested in our career of justice by the prejudices of the natives, that on the contrary the Hindoos have already gone hand in hand with us, without discovering any hostility to our authority. There can be no reason to apprehend that, in the abolition of female immolation, we shall experience the least interruption. To prove that this is the case, we will adduce three examples :—

" In the province of Guzerat the deluded parents had been for a long series of years in the habit of destroying their female infants as soon as they were born. Whether the custom was sanctioned by the shastras or not, is irrevelent ; it is enough that it was deeply rooted in the practice and prejudices of the natives. These unnatural murders at length attracted the attention of Government, and *they were abolished by an order of the supreme power*. Did Government immediately lose the confidence and attachment of the natives ? Did the enraged parent, unsheathing his sword, slaughter the reserved victim, and then turn it on those who had attempted its preservation ? Not one symptom of disaffection has been manifested by the natives on this account. By some the practice is probably forgotten ; and it would now appear in the eyes of those as horrible as it formerly appeared natural and indispensable.

" Our second example is of the same nature, but as it indicates the feelings of a class of natives at the other extremity of the continent, in the opinion of some it may carry greater weight, as demonstrating that the same security accompanies every assertion of the principles of humanity throughout this vast empire. From time immemorial it was the custom of mothers to sacrifice their children to the Ganges at the annual festival held at Gunga Saugur. The British Government regarded the practice with those feelings of horror which such unnatural murders are calculated to inspire ; as persuasion would have been unavailing with those who had parted with every parental feeling, *the practice was prohibited by a public regulation, and the pro-*

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 13.

hibition enforced by public authority. Nor let us forget that this order was promulgated in the presence of thousands assembled at a public festival, in the highest excitement of superstitious frenzy. What was the consequence? Not one instance of resistance was attempted by that immense crowd—the mischief vanished from the earth, and no one bewailed it! The mothers who had brought their children to this funeral sacrifice were constrained to carry them back unhurt; and many, perhaps to whom the heinousness of the crime had never appeared, were, by this interposition, awakened to a sense of its enormity!

“The third example will perhaps go farther to show that we have pursued a course of undeviating justice in India, at the expense of religious injunction and popular prejudice. The Hindoo laws absolutely prohibit the execution of a brahmun; they forbid the Magistrate even to imagine evil against him. Thus fenced by the laws, and extolled by their sacred books, they are still more powerfully guarded by the respect and veneration of the people. From one corner of India to the other, however, religious observances may have fallen into disuse, this sacred tribe enjoys great homage. When therefore our Government commenced in the East we were reduced to the most serious dilemma. To have inflicted punishment on brahmuns would have been to violate the most awful sanctions of Hindoo law, and the dearest prejudices of the people; to have exempted them from punishment would have been to deliver over the country to desolation, ravage, and murder. The reign of equity which we were about to introduce was stopped at the very threshold; the destiny of millions hung in suspense. How did we act on this occasion? Did we lay the laws of justice at the feet of the sacred tribe? Did we abrogate our code of jurisprudence, and adopt the Vedas for our guide? Did we deprive the country of our protection because the Hindoo shastras forbid the punishment of the aggressors, if they happen to be brahmuns? We did not hesitate a single moment, but boldly stepped forward in vindication of the rights of society; and in spite of a formidable phalanx of Hindoo juris-consults, and of the strongest prejudices, caused these delinquents to pay the forfeit of their lives to the laws of offended justice. We have repeated the punishment of brahmuns since that period whenever it has been requisite; and scarcely a year has since elapsed without the execution of a brahmun in some one of the provinces of our empire. Have the natives complained of this outrage on the sanctity of their priesthood, or considered it as an infringement of our toleration? Have we lost their confidence? Have they, in any one instance, petitioned us to disregard their welfare and exempt their spiritual guides from death? or have they not on the contrary tacitly sanctioned every act of punishment, and applauded the inflexible tenor of our proceedings? Let any man read the account of Nundkomar’s execution in Calentta, forty years ago, and he will be convinced that Hindoos are not men to complain of *the execution of justice, even though it happen to infringe their laws and prejudices.* Mr. Hastings judged there could be no danger in his execution; and his judgment proved correct. If ever it might have been expected

that public feeling would have manifested itself against us, it was most assuredly in this instance, when, for the first time, we were carrying the law into execution against one of this sacred tribe ; where the actors in this unprecedented exhibition of justice were but a handful compared with the immense crowd (full 200,000 of his own countrymen!) which surrounded the scaffold; that vast crowd returned peaceably to their houses. If Mr. Hasting's intrepid support of the claims of justice, in the face of such formidable obstacles, should continue to encourage others, and thereby prove a lasting benefit to the natives of India, more solid glory will inscribe his memory than as though we covered the plains of India with obelisks."*

In reviewing the annual statement of Suttees, in the Zillahs and Cities of India presented to the Government, while it is distressing to see with what *frequency, indifference, and brutality*, the unhappy widow is hurried out of the world, it is grateful to see humanity sometimes triumph, and the infatuated victim rescued ; affording demonstration how easily

*"One mild effort of the conquering hand
Might free the earth from this detested blot,
And lead in blest religion to withstand
By her meek precepts, what has dimm'd the lot
Of man, and wrought such deeds as cannot be forgot."*

In the Bareilly Division it is reported, that in 1815 three women were prevented becoming Suttees. In the Patna Division, in 1817, twenty-five Suttees took place, but five women were prevented who "were saved from burning by the interference of the people of the village or by the arrival of the police officers." In the same year five Suttees are stated to have been prevented in the City of Benares. In the following year three other Suttees were prevented in the same City, and "one woman, cast a brahmun, ran away from the pile after it was set fire to, and is still living." Four widows were saved at Cuddapah in 1820.†

The Magistrate of the Patna Division, in his returns of Suttees for 1822, writes,—"It is with satisfaction that I have noted, at the foot of the report, that TWELVE WIDOWS have been either prevented or dissuaded from becoming Suttees ; in nine of which they were dissuaded by the police officers ; in one the widow was prevented by a police officer on account of a legal impediment, and in the two remaining cases the widows were dissuaded, in one by the Zemindar of the village, and in the other by her friends. A police officer was present in only one of the numerous cases in which the sacrifice was completed (and in that he should have prevented it !) although, as it may be observed, many of the villages in which they took place are not far from the police stations."

In the returns from the same Division of the following year (1823) are the following highly interesting statements :—"It will probably be considered the most remarkable feature of the present report that, on nine occasions of intended Suttee, at which alone the police officers

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 22—24.—Friend of India, as above.

† Par. Papers, printed July, 1821, and June, 1823

had an opportunity of being present, they succeeded, without difficulty or opposition, in dissuading the widows from sacrificing themselves. From the inquiries that I have been able to make on the subject of Suttees during the last two years, I do not hesitate to offer an opinion, that in this district it would not be attended with any dissatisfaction of a dangerous nature, if the Government should deem it proper, *to prohibit this lamentable custom altogether*; it even appears to me that the inhabitants of the district generally are prepared to hear of such a prohibition." Oh! when shall suffering humanity in India hear the voice of mercy saying, "kindle those horrid fires no more! In some parts of Orissa a pit is used for this dreadful sacrifice, and the woman, after circumambulating it three or seven times, throws herself into the fire. I have seen one of these pits at Juggernaut's temple, but did not hear of the Suttee in time to be present. Even from this pit the Suttee sometimes escapes. In the Par. Papers (printed July, 1825, p. 109 and 150) is the following account:—"Rahang in the Thannah, of Pooree, (Juggernaut) died Aug., 25, 1823, and his widow, Mussumut Munee, aged 50, declared her intentions of becoming a Suttee, and repeated the declaration in presence of the police officers. In pursuance of this intention, the day following she went through the usual ceremonies, and *threw herself into a burning pit*, where the body of her husband was consuming, but almost immediately leapt out and made her escape. She was severely, but not dangerously burnt, and an engagement was taken from the managers of the village binding themselves that she should be taken care of and proper remedies applied. She returned to her family, and was received by them as usual."

Private friendship prompts me to record here the rescue of a poor woman from the flaming pit at Pooree, and this event, like the preceding, shews, "while rescuing one, how practicable it is, with ease, to rescue all." The account is contained in the Report of the General Baptist Missionary Society for 1826, and is as follows:—

"On Friday, Oct. 28, 1825, we were informed that there would be a Suttee in the afternoon. Brother B. wrote to the different Europeans at the stations, thinking that some from motives of curiosity or humanity might wish to attend, but no hope could be entertained of saving the poor woman, as we were told that she had already burnt her fingers in order to prove her fortitude. Brother B. declined going, having seen one Suttee, and being so disgusted at the horrid scene;—and from what he then saw, and did, feeling persuaded that it was in vain to attempt to save the wretched victim, he despaired of doing any good. I however felt a desire to witness the horrid work, that I might speak from experience; and two military gentlemen having expressed their determination to go, at about half-past four we set off towards the spot where the Suttee was to take place: the name of the place is Swergo Dwar, or The Gate of Heaven; a place thickly strewed with human skulls and skeletons of Juggernaut's adorers. About a furlong from the pit we ascertained, from the noise of the tin kettle-drums, &c., that the woman was approaching. In a few minutes a vast concourse of people made their appearance, shouting and beating their drums, &c.; even little children were employed in this unholy work. In the centre of a crowd we discerned the destined victim, surrounded by a slight hoop of bamboo, so that she might walk clear from the press. She appeared to be under twenty years of age, and of an interesting appearance. Round her person was wrapped a white cloth smeared with turmeric; under her right arm she carried a handy, or earthen pot, containing a little rice, a piece of cocoa-nut, one or two other trifling things, and some fire to throw into the pit, this was from Juggernaut's temple: in her left hand she held some pice (halfpence) which she was to distribute to the bystanders. Her jet-black

hair was smeared with ghee and other greasy substances, and decorated with flowers and gaudy ornamented paper: round her neck was a large rope nearly as thick as my wrist, and one or two smaller ones: thus attired, she looked the picture of all that is degraded and wretched. Before her stood one of Satan's high priests with two paltry pictures of Juggernaut, which he was very anxious she should look upon continually. Altogether, I never saw any thing so infernal. The barbarous indifference of the multitude to every feeling of humanity—the thoughts of an awful eternity—the idea that the poor creature before me would soon rush, thus polluted with Idolatry, into the presence of an awful God, who hates sin and abominates Idolatry—the multitude who evinced so savage a pleasure in the bloody work—and the malicious countenances of the principal actors in this wretched scene, rendered more horrible than ever by the interruption, altogether so pressed upon my mind that the feeling beggars description. But what could be done! something must be attempted. We bid the people stop. I got off my horse, and the two Europeans came near with their elephant; I made my way to the woman, and found she was quite intoxicated; there was a strange wildness in her appearance. I looked at her eyes, turned up the eyelids and found them very bloodshot and heavy: the woman could not utter a syllable distinctly, all that could be understood was, 'Juggernaut,' and 'koosee,' meaning, I suppose, Juggernaut is my pleasure. A thrill of horror ran through my veins: her youth—her destitute condition, for she had not a friend even to 'give her fire,' viz., light the pile—her total insensibility—and the general horror of the scene, induced the mutual feeling that she was about to be cruelly murdered. We thought the law protected us under such circumstances, and determined to rescue her. The people looked at us amazed; the crowd soon thickened upon us, and assumed rather a formidable appearance; but there was no time for parley, we put on a determined aspect, and insisted on her being taken back, urging that she was quite intoxicated: this many of them admitted, but still retained their hold of the hoop by which she was enclosed, and urged that it was her wish to burn, and that it was Juggernaut's pleasure; we however insisted upon her being taken back till she was sensible. Captain G. and Lieutenant M. behaved nobly, they charged a few servants in their employ to keep off the people; they soon gave way without making any further resistance, and left us in charge of the woman and the principal actors. I should observe that the Daroga (head police-officer) was absent. I then mounted my horse and rode before, the road was made through the crowd by the servants and a few idle seapoys who attended as lookers on, the officers followed the woman on their elephant till they saw all was safe, and then returned to the pile. I rode before the crowd and the woman towards the police officer's place of confinement: in my way I met with brother B. and surprised him with what was done: he accompanied me to the prison, and delivered the woman into the charge of the Daroga, who was much surprised and disconcerted at what was done, but was obliged to attend to Captain G.'s orders to secure the woman. All seemed consternation. I am sure that I wondered at our success, Bampton seemed to wonder more; the people seemed thunderstruck, and exclaimed, 'Now you have done something!' others said, 'This is merciful!' and indeed among the thousands of spectators not a sound of disapprobation was heard, or the least confusion excited. The woman herself kept saying, as well as we could understand, 'This is well done! you have broken my purposes:' she was however quite stupefied. What may be the result we know not, or whether we shall be able to save her is quite uncertain; we know, however, it might be done with the most trifling interference on the part of the Magistrate. Her husband's corpse is already consumed."

He adds,—“On Tuesday the Judge, much to his credit and honour, determined that the woman *should not burn*. May God overrule it to promote his own glory, and for the putting out for ever these flames which hell itself has kindled. O that this circumstance may be the harbinger of this happy consummation! How easily might it be done! Only think, that three individuals, at the very worst place in all India, without authority, and without the least disturbance, and without giving offence to any except three or four individuals immediately concerned, have succeeded in saving this wretched woman from the devouring flames!”

If so much satisfaction is felt by humane minds in the rescue of a single individual, how would humanity—how would Christianity hail the merciful suppression of all those barbarities!

The opinion of J. H. Harington, Esq, officiating chief Judge in the Nizamut Adawlut, Calcutta, relative to the expediency of abolishing

the Suttee, has been given. The second Judge, C. Smith, Esq., says :—“The practice of Suttee OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED, and it may be abolished with PERFECT SAFETY.” The third Judge, J. T. Shakespeare, Esq., likewise states:—“I am prepared to concur in a recommendation to Government, that a regulation be promulgated prohibiting Suttees throughout the country.” The fifth Judge, W. B. Martin, Esq., at the same time stated:—“The toleration of the practice by our Government, and its disposition to interfere no further than was necessary to guard it from abuse, has been misconstrued into a tacit recognition of the principle of an usage, the legality of which within certain limits, it has formerly acknowledged.”

The minute of the officiating Judge, J. Ahmety, Esq., relative the documents from which the above extracts are taken, is as follows:—“I feel satisfied that it would be far preferable to enact a regulation prohibiting the practice of Suttees at once, and rendering it punishable by law, than having recourse to any partial or indirect means to repress it gradually, if even such a result could be reasonably expected to ensue.”*

The Governor General in Council, Lord Amherst, evidently anticipates the final abolition of Suttee, as appears from the observations upon the statement of the number of widows who were burned in 1823. His words are:—“His Lordship in Council is unwilling to abandon the hope, that the abolition of the practice may, at a future period, be found safe and expedient; and he has already had occasion to remark, that the more general dissemination of knowledge and the discussions of the question among the better informed Hindoos themselves, may be expected to have some effect in gradually preparing the minds of the natives for such a measure.† (Jud. Depart., Dec., 1824.)

Humanity, in her tears, asks, why delay to rescue the unhappy widow? “The argument that we may ultimately look for the cure of this evil in the gradual increase of intelligence which is beginning to develop itself in India, might have some weight, if the progress of intelligence were of a more accelerated character than circumstances allow us to suppose, or if the immediate abolition of the rite were not proved to be both safe and practicable. But this fact, once satisfactorily established, to delay the enjoyment of an acknowledged good, because at some future, yet more remote time, you anticipate its attainment by the operation of other causes,—what is this but to procrastinate a happiness already within your reach, and to be justly responsible for all the misery of the intervening period of a long and criminal delay?”‡

The authorities for the propriety and safety of the immediate abolition of Suttee are numerous and decisive. This has appeared from the various references which have been made to the Parliamentary Papers upon the subject, and they may be increased from various other sources.

The Magistrate of Poona, under the Bombay Presidency, (Captain

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 148, 149. † Page 153.

‡ See Grimshawe’s Appeal to British Humanity in behalf of Hindoo widows, p. 26—28.

H. D. Robertson,) thus states the nature of the popular feeling relative to Suttees :—“The feeling, I might almost say, is general to stop them ; it was hinted to me, through various respectable channels, that although a show of discontent would be exhibited, an order of Government to prevent their continuance would be a palatable measure.”*

Another Magistrate in Bombay, (J. Barnard, Esq.,) declares :—“The circumstances under which Suttees prevail, the classes interested therein, the number of instances, and the conduct of the community in their communications, both with the Magistrate and with each other, on such occasions, as well as the impressions generally entertained by those not concerned, convince me that there are few cases in which evil would ensue from prohibition and coercive prevention.”†

Colonel Dow, in his History of Hindoostan, says,—“All religions must be tolerated in Bengal except the practice of *some inhuman customs which the Mahomedans have already, in a great measure, destroyed.* There are particular usages, established by time into a law, which *our humanity must destroy.* Let no women burn themselves with their husbands, no dying person being exposed by his friends. To leave the natives entirely to their own laws would be to consign them to anarchy and confusion.”‡ Vol. iii. p. 128, 143.

“The Commentaries of Bras de Albuquerque, the son of the Great Albuquerque, one of those extraordinary men who, nearly three hundred years ago, raised to the highest pitch of glory the Portuguese name in India, contains the following passage :—“When Alf. de Albuquerque took the kingdom of Goa he would not permit that any woman from thence forward should burn herself; and although to change their custom is equal to death, nevertheless they rejoiced in life, and said great good of him, because he commanded that they should not burn themselves. Long after his death, when a Moor or Hindoo had received wrong and could obtain no redress from the Governor, the aggrieved person would go to Goa, to Albuquerque’s tomb, and make an offering of oil at the lamp which burned before it, and call upon him for justice.”§ Wilberforce’s Speech, 1813, 8vo. page 93, 94.

The Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, in his valuable pamphlet, called, “An earnest Appeal to British Humanity in behalf of Hindoo Widows,” (1825, published by Hatchard, London,) refers to the suppression of Suttees by other powers.—

“The Mogul Government has uniformly discountenanced the practice of burning widows alive; and the extent of the benefits thus conferred may be estimated by the remarkable fact that in no part of Hindoostan is the rite *less known* than under their sway; and in none is it *more common* than in that which is the centre of British power and ascendancy! This example was humanely followed by the Portuguese. The Dutch, the Danish, and the French Governments, uniformly refused to sanction the custom. Why is the name of Bri-

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 167. † Page 209. ‡ “Collection of Facts and Opinions relative to the Burning of Hindoo Widows,” by Dr. Johns, p. 89. § Page 103, 104.

tain alone excluded from the honourable list of competitors? Is it that policy and duty in our case are irreconcileable, however blended in that of others? The conviction is most humiliating that *the British Government is the only European power in India that tolerates the practice of burning widows alive on the funeral pile!?*" Page 16, 17.

To the same effect is the following brief extract from the article in "The Friend of India," No. iii. (quar. ser.) before noticed.—"The Mosulmans who never protected the unhappy natives from foreign invasion, or from internal commotion, checked this practice in many cases, and in some provinces abolished it altogether. Will it be too much for us while we dispense blessings with one hand, with the other to snatch the helpless victim from the flames? There is no instance on historic record in which acts of humanity have ever roused public indignation. Massacre, confiscation, and injustice are the elements from which revolutions are created, not humanity, justice, and equity; the mere supposition is a novelty in political science."*

In "An Account of the York Meeting to petition Parliament for the abolition of the immolation of Hindoo widows in British India," the reader may be furnished with much information upon the subject under consideration. In the preface of this pamphlet is the following statement relative to the views of the late Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General of India, on the abolition of Suttees:—"The importance of petitioning Parliament will be duly appreciated when it is understood that the late Marquis of Hastings said, he would at once have put down the atrocious practice, if he could have relied upon the popular feeling being in his favour in our own country, and that *the danger was felt not in India, but only in England!?*"—O when shall every town and city in Britain and Ireland say, "This blood shall not rest on us! Let no more widows perish!" Before the Marquis left India, in 1823, the following "*Supplicatory Lines*" were addressed to him in the public Papers:—

" Ere thy benignant power retires
From India, bless'd beneath thy care,
O quench these foul unhallow'd fires,
Which hell's own flame has kindled there,
The stain of earth and upper air!
Then o'er the sea,
The orphan's blessing and the widow's prayer
Shall follow thee.
O ne'er to man has pitying Heaven
A power so blest, so glorious given,
Say but a single word and save
Ten thousand mothers from a flaming grave,
And tens of thousands from the source of woe,
That ever must to orphan'd children flow!
Save from the flame the infant's place of rest,
The couch by nature given—a mother's breast;
O bid the mother live—the babe caress her,
And sweeter still its hoping accents bless her.
India with tearful eye and bended knee,
Hastings, her lord and judge, presents her plaint to thee."

Britain speak. "Plead for the widow!" Let petitions pour into Parliament from every quarter, which, like the streams of the sanc-

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 24—26.

tuary, shall quench these fires that hell hath kindled. Let the friends to India, who hold its destinies in their hands, hear the appeal of a writer in that country:—"Let us freely look at the practicability of its abolition, and number both its friends and its foes. We may calculate on the support of all the humane, the wise, and the good, throughout India! we may depend on the great majority of the people who have prevented every village in India from being lighted up monthly with these infernal fires. Those who used all their power and influence to liberate their country from the stigma of this guilt, by preventing their mothers and sisters from ascending the funeral pile, will undoubtedly support us in discountenancing the practice elsewhere. We shall enlist on our side all those tender feelings which, though now dormant, will then be aroused into new life and vigour; but above all we shall surround ourselves with the protection of that Almighty Power, whose command is, 'Thou shalt do no murder;' who defends the weak and succours the injured; who, when the cries of oppressed India had pierced His throne, selected us of all other nations to break its chains and restore it to happiness."*

SECTION VII.

A collection of European and Native testimony to the position that the Suttee is not absolutely enjoined by the Hindoo Shastras, and hence should be suppressed.

MENU, in his Institutes, is the great authority in determining the legality of the Suttee. Of this work Sir W. Jones, in his preface to the translation of it, says:—"This system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, the Hindoos firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Menu, son or grandson of Brahma, or in plain language, the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators." His high character is thus described in the beginning of the work:—"Menu sat reclined, with his attention fixed on one object, the supreme God; when the divine sages approached him, and after mutual salutations in due form, delivered the following address, 'Deign, sovereign ruler, to apprise us of the sacred laws in their order, as they must be followed by all the classes, and by each of them, in their several degrees, together with the duties of every mixed class; for thou, lord, and thou only among mortals, knowest the true sense, the first principle, and the prescribed ceremonies, of this universal, supernatural Veda, unlimited in extent, and unequalled in authority.'"

After a careful perusal of this work, while this pamphlet has been in the press, not the slightest reference to the horrid custom of the Suttee has been found. It contains various laws relative to women; a few extracts, in addition to what has been already quoted, may be interesting:—"In his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his

* Par. Papers, p. 26.

mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company: his virtue alone will adhere to him. When he leaves his corse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces: but his virtue accompanies his soul. Equal care must be taken of women without sons, of women without kindred, of *widows* true to their lords, &c. A widow who, from a wish to bear children, slighted her deceased husband, by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord. Like those abstemious men (unmarried brahmuns) a virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity."* The duty of Hindoo widows is evidently a life of austere devotion till death, and the custom of Suttee is altogether unknown in the Institutes of the great Indian legislator.

The following extracts from the Parliamentary Papers, shewing that the Suttee is not positively enjoined, and should be suppressed, according to the opinion of many Europeans high in office in India, appear very important.—

"We really think there is as little justification for a woman to burn herself with the remains of her deceased husband, as for a ranjkoomor to destroy his daughters at their birth; burying alive for the leprosy where the party is desirous to die; human sacrifices at Saugor; putting sorcerers to death, or killing a human creature by any other means, without justification or excuse: all of which are made capital offences by the Regulations. The killing in all these instances has quite as much in its favour, (on the score of erroneous prejudice and superstition, and perhaps of religion), as the practice of Suttee: but we do not find the punishment of death denounced against these crimes, has at all been considered by the people as an infringement of that complete toleration, in matters of religion, which it has been a fundamental principle of the British Government to allow. And there can be no doubt that the practice of Suttee might be as easily checked and prevented throughout the British Territories as any of the murderous practices above referred to. We have the fact, that its suppression at the foreign Settlements was effected without the slightest difficulty."† (E. Watson, Esq., Judge, Alappore, April, 1818).

"On the subject of anoojumun (burning after the husband's death), the shastras exhibit a great variety of opinions; but no difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of austerity. From the above it would appear, that not the slightest offence attaches either to the women who depart from their resolution, or to those who persuade them to relinquish their intention."‡ (W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Trans. of Mutoonjoy's Bewasta relative to Suttees, &c.)

"The suicide in these cases is not indeed a religious act, nor has it the sanction of Menu and other ancient legislators revered by the Hindoos. On the contrary, Menu declares that a virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if after the decease of her lord she devote herself to pious austerity.§ The texts of Yama and Caty-

* Sir W. Jones' Works, Vol. vii. p. 240, 334, 271. + Papers, N. i. p. 99.
† p. 124, 125. § Text 141, "Digest of Hindoo Law," book 4, ch. 3, sec. 2.

ayana, quoted in the *Vivada Bhangarnana* (digest of Hindoo law), "On the duties of widows choosing to survive their husbands" are also to the same effect;* and Vrihaspate adds† "whether she ascends the pile, or survive for the benefit of her husband, she is a faithful wife." Some authors have condemned the suicide of widows altogether, as coming within a general prohibition against the wilful abridgment of human life: and proceeding from a desire of future sensual enjoyment, in preference to the more pure and perfect state of beatitude promised for a life of virtue and piety."‡ (Govt. Regulations relative to Suttees). Referring to these Regulations it is remarked:—"It is trusted they will have a very beneficial influence, by lessening a sense of obligation under which there is reason to believe many are induced to make this sacrifice of their lives, and showing that the practice is far from being inculcated as such by the most approved authorities of the Hindoo law."§ (J. Adam, Esq., Sec. to the Governor General, Oct., 1817.

"I submit that it has little or no connexion with their religion! The practice is strongly recommended by the shastras, but nothing more, and Menu (together with other authorities of great respectability,) prescribes the duties of a widow, without *hinting* that burning herself is one of the most important. In permitting, or indeed authorizing Suttees, we are by no means showing a proper forbearance towards the religious customs, or long established prejudices of the Hindoos; *an act no where enjoined by any of the shastras*; on the contrary a crime which their own laws would punish with death; and only tolerated by our Government because we overlook the impudent imposition which has transformed a *recommendation* to the widow to accompany her husband, into *an order*, which the relations must carry into effect if she should evince symptoms of disobedience. I cannot attempt to account for the great prevalence of Suttees in some districts and the rarity of them in others; but it is a proof that it is a custom seldom thought of in the greater proportion of our dominions."|| (W. Ewer, Esq., Act. Sup. of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta, Nov., 1818.) "Menu and the most ancient and respectable writers do not mention Suttee: it was therefore in their time either unknown or not approved. If known, but not mentioned, because not approved by Menu, the authority of the modern shashtra is not sufficient to give any merit to the sacrifice. In the first case we do not find that the practice originates in law, but the law is the consequence of the practice. Sacred authority is subsequently produced to enforce the merit of enacting or originating on the mortal feelings of affection, grief, despair, or some other passion of the mind equally incapable of affording a hope that it could be acceptable in the eyes of the Deity."¶ (W. Ewer, Esq., as above, Calcutta, Jan., 1819.)

"After having attended at several Suttees, for the purpose of gaining as much information as possible on the subject, and after having attentively considered the doctrines under which it is sanctioned, the circumstances attending the actual performance of the sacrifice,

* Texts, 144, 145, "Digest of Hindoo Law." † Text 130. ‡ p. 126. § p. 147.
|| p. 228. ¶ p. 231.

and the terms upon which those who have been prevented from burning have subsequently lived with their relations and neighbours, I am decidedly of opinion that *the abolition of the practice by law would not be attended with any evil consequences*: on the contrary I think the enactment of such a law is dictated by every principle of humanity; nor does it appear to me that the abolition of the practice is altogether inconsistent with the spirit of toleration which has ever distinguished the British Government. The greater proportion of the men are unable to give a reason for the performance of the sacrifice, and it is surely fair to infer that the women are not better informed on the subject; and therefore to suppose that the resolution to become Suttees cannot proceed so much from their having reasoned themselves into a conviction of the purity of the act itself, as from a kind of infatuation produced by the absurdities poured into their ears by ignorant brahmuns, most of whom, if asked, would be found unable to give a reason for the doctrines they inculcate. I am persuaded that *ninety-nine out of a hundred women* sacrifice themselves more under the influence of this infatuation than from any conviction of their own minds.”* (E. Molony, Esq., Mag. Burdwan, Dec., 1818.)

“It was the prevalent opinion amongst the natives that this sacrifice would not be tolerated by the British Government.”† (S. Marriott, Esq., Tannah, Sept., 1819.)

V. Hale, Esq., Judge in the Southern Concan, (Oct., 1819,) thus shews the state of public opinion relative to the Suttee in that part of India:—“I was much gratified on finding on my arrival in this part of the Concan, that the ceremony of Suttee, at no time so commonly practised as in most parts of British India, had, *on the institution of the Hon. Company's Government entirely ceased*, apparently caused by a very general opinion which prevailed among the natives, (though certainly without reason), that the performance of this sacrifice was totally repugnant to the laws, as well as the feeling of Government; in short,—*that it would not be permitted*. This sentiment, particularly as no specific rules at that period existed for the guidance of Magistrates, and as no bad effect apparently was the result of it, I did not most certainly take the smallest pains to remove; contenting myself, in the very few instances where my permission was applied for, by neither giving nor withholding my consent, declaring, as was then literally the case, that I was ignorant whether the usage was permitted by the Government or not. The state of doubt in which these evasive answers left the minds of the applicants, I found had all the effect I could have hoped for, and in a very short time I heard no more of them: the result being that in the bounds of the late Malwan residency *not a single case of Suttee has ever occurred*; at least not in my time: and I believe I am correct when I add, neither within the four years my predecessor was stationed there; if there has it must have been performed (a very improbable circumstance) with such secrecy as to prelude the possibility of its coming to the knowledge of the local authorities.”‡

One more extract may be made from the Par. Papers, (printed

* Par. Papers. p. 236. † p. 256. ‡ p. 258.—Account of York Meeting, p. 26.

1821), of similar import with the preceding :—“I feel emboldened, in the cause of humanity, to state, that the practice (of Suttee) is neither prescribed by the shastra, nor encouraged by persons of education or influence. I can speak, from positive authority, that his Highness the Rajah of Tanjore, has ever discouraged it; and I feel assured that, with the exception of a few brahmuns, who derive a nefarious reward for presiding at this infernal rite, the prohibition of the practice would give universal satisfaction.”* (C. M. Lushington, Esq., Mag. at Combeconum, Sept., 1813.)

We could, with no consistency declare that to be murder to day, which we yesterday declared to be justifiable, and I do not think we ever can do so until we are armed with law opinions, that the practice of Suttees is not conformable to the Hindoo law: *and it by no means seems certain that such a construction of the law would be unattainable.*† (W. Leycester, Esq., Chief Judge of the Nizamut Adawlut, Calcutta, May, 1821.)

“The ordinances of Menu, which are one of the principal law authorities in this part of India, do not encourage the sacrifice in the same manner as others quoted in the vivade changamana, translated by Mr. Colebrook. ‘Let him not wish for death! Let him not wish for life! Let him expect his appointed time, as a hired servant expects his wages,’ are doctrines more agreeable to the institutes of the oldest Hindoo legislator, who mentions doctrines very averse from self-immolation of widows; such as the raising up a son to the deceased by the widow. Here the marriage of widows is now deemed illegal, but not so in some of the most southern parts of the Peninsula. The Hindoo shastra lays down rules for securing proper provision for the widow, and confidence on the uninterrupted validity of such claims has probably proved, as a solace to their afflictions, one of the most efficacious considerations to operate to the prevention of the practice; while the persuasion which the priesthood use to widows to induce them to devote their bodies to this sacrifice, have the greatest influence on those *who, being without future protection and maintenance, regard a future sojourn in this world with despair.*”‡

“I look upon this inhuman practice as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government; *it is ever abominated by the better sort of natives themselves, and no where is it enjoined by Hindoo law.* The authorities against self-immolation are Menu, Bhooraspatee, and several others. The weight of authority is in favour of a rigid practice of austerities, because it is that prescribed by Menu, revered by the Hindoos as the first and greatest law of authority. Custom can only be legally upheld when it does not militate against law, ‘*consuetudo pro lege servator,*’ will only extend to cases where no specific law exists. In the present instance there is a specific law, sanctioned by Menu, in direct opposition to authorities of inferior weight. I apprehend, the obvious absurdity of the law (exempting brahmuns from death) and the impossibility of reconciling it with our notions of justice induced its abolition. If then a law can be repealed from its inconsonancy with reason, the same arguments exist in a stronger de-

* Par. Papers, No. i. p. 270. + Par. Papers, No. ii. p. 63. ‡ p. 98.

gree against an inhuman, barbarous, and unjust *custom.*"* (C. M. Lushington, Esq., Mag., Trichinopoly, Oct., 1819.)

The Hon. Court of Directors, in a letter addressed to the Governor General in Council, at Fort William, Bengal, dated London, June 17, 1823, thus expressed their views of the obligatory nature of Suttee, and the means of its abolition :—"Connected with the opinions expressed by many intelligent men, that *the practice of Suttee is not a tenet of religion to which the people are enthusiastically attached, but rather an abuse, fostered by interested priests and relations.* These instances of partial success do lead us to regard the notion of *prohibition*, modified according to circumstances, of this barbarous custom with rather less of apprehension than it has generally produced. Assuredly the most acceptable form of success would be that which would be brought about by such an increase of intelligence among the people as should shew them the wickedness and absurdity of the practice ; next to this, we should rejoice to see the abolition effected by the influence and the co-operation of the higher order of natives."† It is gratifying to see this awfully interesting subject discussed by every class of society, and there can be no doubt that the abolition of the Suttee would be hailed in India as an act expected from the British Government, and reflecting lustre upon its administration. O may those in whose hands are the lives of thousands of hapless widows, and the destinies of millions, reflect upon the language of the Almighty :—"If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain ; if thou sayest, 'Behold we knew it !' doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it ? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it ? and shall not he render to every man according to his works." Pro. xxiv. 11, 12.

J. H. Harington, Esq., now member of Council in Calcutta, in a very interesting Minute relative to Suttees, dated Dec., 1824, thus gives his view of the facility and safety of suppressing Suttees :—"If, as appears from the exposition of the shastra, given by the pundits of the Suder Dewanny Adawlut, the assistance of brahmuns and others be requisite to enable the widow to devote herself in the prescribed or customary way, whether of sahamaran or anoomaran, (burning with or without the body,) it would surely be possible to prevent such aid being given by a public interdiction, with a declaration that any person hereafter causing, aiding, or in any manner promoting a female sacrifice, such as that commonly denominated a Suttee, shall be liable to a criminal prosecution, as principals or accomplices, for homicide ; and that on conviction it will not be held any justification of the homicide that the person so convicted was desired by the deceased to cause, aid, or in any manner to promote her death, or that the deceased became a Suttee by a voluntary act of self-devotion. It is impossible that a legislative enactment to prevent assistance being hereafter given in the Suttee immolation, with a view to preserve the lives of a number of miserable women from suicide, in a state of affliction from the recent death of their husbands, and to put a stop to the horrible abuses and cruelties which, *unsanctioned by Hindoo laws*, have

* Par. Papers, No. ii. p. 103, 104. + Par. Papers, printed 1824, p. 45.

too frequently attended an involuntary perpetration of this sacrifice, could be imputed to any other motives than what would really govern such an enactment; and which might therefore be fairly and fully declared, without danger of its being misconstrued into any thing like a general design to put down, by authority, the religious system with which the inhuman practice referred to is imperfectly connected.”*

The same Gentleman, in a paper addressed to the Right Hon. the President of the Board of Control, under date May 30, 1822, thus decidedly shews his opinion of the nature of the Suttee, and the propriety of its abolition:—“Whatever opinion may be entertained on the policy which has hitherto induced the British Government to tolerate the immolation of Hindoo widows, as considered to be in some degree a religious observance, *although it is not a prescribed duty*, as may be seen in Mr. H. Colebrook’s Translation of Original Texts on the subject, (see Vol. iv. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society), there can be no sufficient or legitimate reason for permitting a practice so repugnant to every feeling and principle of humanity, *in opposition to the only laws which can be pleaded in justification of it.*” †

The following statement is interesting, contained in a letter from T. H. Pelly, Esq., Magistrate of the Southern Concan, to the Governor in Council, Bombay, dated May 11, 1820:—“Happening to be at Penn in Dec. it was reported to me, late in the day, that a woman was about to perform the ceremony of a Suttee. Some of the respectable brahmuns were sent for, and after in vain endeavouring to persuade them from persevering in their design, they were told that if they could show *any passage* in their sacred works which went the length of *actually ordering the ceremony*, it might go on. This they said they could readily do; but could not in fact produce any thing beyond the well-known commendations bestowed on Suttees, and the equally known recapitulation of the several curious advantages derivable to the soul of the deceased by the cremation of the widow. The days were short at that season, and while these discussions were going on in the most quiet and amicable manner, the sun was rapidly sinking, and indeed nearly set. They noticed this, I imagine, and seeming unwilling to press for my sanction to an immolation, which they must have perceived I contemplated with extreme horror; they inquired if I would object to the Suttee within Angrias territory, which was close at hand. To this I replied, that I could exercise no jurisdiction there. They left me with the intention, as I conceived, of performing the ceremony beyond our line of boundary: but I found, on inquiry, that the design was abandoned altogether: and the woman is now, I believe, alive.”‡

The Magistrate of Poona, in 1823, Captain H. D. Robertson, exerted himself much for the abolition of Suttees. His discussions with the brahmuns and pundits, as given in the Parliamentary Papers, are highly interesting; an extract or two may be given.—“Chintamun Dixit, a violent man, said I had infringed their law, by saving Radabyee’s life, and that had she lived they could not have permitted her to be considered in their caste. I defied him the proof of this:

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 10, 11. † Page 20. ‡ Page 155, 156.

and asserted the unpalatable truth that he either willfully misrepresented, or did not understand, his own law; that the shastras and commentaries upon them, by which they in those days declare themselves to be guided, precisely laid down a penance during twelve days, of no very hard description to be the terms of readmission into society of a woman who should come from the pile alive, after being once in it: and that it was positively declared to be a meritorious act, to assist in saving such a Suttee from burning.”*

Addressing the natives in their language, he said:—“There is not a man in this assembly who, if he had witnessed the scene I was summoned to behold, (on Saturday, Sep. 27th), would not appreciate my present motives, and would not aid me in endeavouring to impress on the rest the propriety of some arrangement being effected, by which a repetition of it should never occur. Impressed with the conviction that the Suttee is a barbarous one; aware that *the law of your fore-fathers no where inculcates as a positive law or duty, the practice, but merely allows it a colour of such sanction, by such a positive endurance, that room even for doubt is left whether the sanction is not a kind of denunciation of it*; aware that your shashtra, in no text, can be interpreted to attach blame or even censure to widows who do not become Suttées; that there is no slur or stain that any one may dare to throw on the character or affection of her who does not sacrifice herself; aware moreover that the present generation and yourselves attach no contempt to those who survive their partners;—you cannot but agree with me, that there exists not one good cause for not stopping the practice altogether.”†

An article “*On Female Immolation*,” published in “The Friend of India,” March, 1821, from which extracts were forwarded to the Hon. Court of Directors, July, 1823, and printed in the Par. Papers, July, 1825, (p. 20—26,) contains a just and powerful statement of the points at issue. The writer says:—“If it be advanced that the Hindoos think the Suttee is a religious rite, we would ask: Under what Government is the privilege of deciding on the nature of crime and punishments delegated to the subject, more especially with regard to actions which render him obnoxious to justice? If the Hindoo who burns his innocent mother brings himself to think it a religious action, are the civil authorities, to whom the preservation of her life is committed, over which life he has not even a shadow of a right, obliged to think so? Are the sacred principles of justice to be abrogated because private individuals are mistaken in their notions of the worship which is acceptable to the Deity? The admission of this principle would rend asunder the bond of society; for if the highest crime, that of murder, may go unpunished when committed under a religious pretext, what crime can we consistently punish in India? There is no species of abomination which the Hindoo code does not sanction under some shape or other. But the whole course of our judicial proceedings demonstrates that we have never acted on these principles. ‘But the Hindoo law commands this murderous practice.’ This we must beg leave to deny.—Menu, the parent of Indian jurisprudence, for

* Par. Papers, No. iv. p. 167. † page 181, 182.

whom the natives entertain such veneration, that the brahmun who possesses not a shalgram and a copy of his laws, is said to have forfeited his religious privileges:—Menu, respecting whom it is acknowledged, that ‘what is contrary to his injunction is not law,’ says nothing of female immolation, but on the contrary prescribes rules for the conduct of widows during the time of their natural existence. If succeeding Hindoo commentators have partially countenanced it, we would ask;—since what period have we taken those authors for our rule and guide, and substituted their precepts instead of the principles of justice? For the honour of the British character we can reply that we have never done so; we have never put to death every shoodra who has molested a brahmun by bringing an action against him for debt, robbery, or adultery. We have not cut off the hands of every shoodra who has seized a brahmun by the neck; we have not poured melted lead into the ears of every plebeian who has listened, during the last sixty years to reproaches against these twice-born favourites of heaven. Yet these injunctions, however contrary to reason, to humanity, and to the peace of mankind, are positively contained in their code. We have not therefore listened for one moment to these books, but have defended the natives from the bloody rigour of their own laws. If any one be still disposed to object, that while we have in general upheld the authority of these books, we have disannulled those laws which appeared unjust, we really know not what argument may be adduced more favourable to the abolition of female murder; for in this case it may be justly urged that if we possess a discretionary power over the Hindoo laws, the helpless widow has as strong a claim to our compassion as the members of the servile tribe, almost every individual of which is daily incurring the penalties decreed in them; and that if we make any exceptions in the execution of the Hindoo code, the unprotected female ought fully to share in them. The burning of widows is a *mere excrescence from the corrupt stock of polytheism.* We question whether *one half* of the population of India know any thing of it but by report; the number of those who feel interested in supporting it consists only of those who are personally engaged in promoting female immolation; the great majority of our native subjects are as little interested in the question as in the death of a brahmun at Cape Commerin. It does not require any great penetration to discern that those who have quietly submitted to the death of their priests when justice has demanded the sacrifice, will manifest no disquietude when in the spirit of equity and humanity, we prevent the murder of their sisters and daughters.”

Charles Marsh, Esq., in the House of Commons, in 1813, thus expressed himself relative to the obligatory nature of Suttees:—“*It is enjoined by no positive precept of the Hindoo religion.* It is a species of overstrained interpretation of its duties: and the offspring of that fanaticism which will inevitably grow up, and has more or less grown up, under every system of religion.”* Ought not such fanaticism to be corrected?

The late C. Grant, Esq., in his “Observations on the Manners of

* Dr. John’s Pamphlet on the Suttee, p. 96.

the Natives of British India," advert to this custom, and intimates, that to say we should continue to allow of these great disorders in "all time to come" would be "too daring a conclusion."*

The philanthropic and eloquent Wilberforce thus pleaded the cause of benighted India, in the British Senate, in 1813.—"Oh Sir, if we lived nearer these unfortunate people, their distressed situation would exact from us more prompt relief. It was formerly my task to plead the cause of a people whose woes affected every heart, who were finally rescued from the situation in which they groaned by the abolition of the Slave Trade. That cause was doubtless the cause of suffering humanity; but I declare that, even if we exclude the consideration of religion; *humanity appears to me to be still more concerned in the cause I am now pleading than in that of which I was formerly the advocate.*"

The Rev. T. Scott of Aston Sandford, in his valuable Commentary, has the following remarks on Numbers xxxv. 33:—"So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood it defileth the land: and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it." "*The connivance of our Government in the burning of widows, and in human sacrifices, and in other species of murder committed in our East Indian dominions, under the pretext of an idolatrous religion, is wholly unjustifiable, and burdens our land, and all connected with those distant regions, with the guilt of blood not expiated by that of those who shed it.*"—The blood of Suttees cry to Britain. O may she soon "make inquisition for blood," that "the blood of the souls of the poor innocents" may not be "found upon her skirts."

It appears very important to ascertain the judgment of the Hindoos themselves upon the obligation of the rite of Suttee. In the Be-wasta, received from Mutoonjoy Pundit of the Supreme Court in 1817, respecting the burning of Hindoo widows and other sacrifices among the Hindoos, Menu is not mentioned among the various authorities quoted; and it is acknowledged "on the subject of anoogumum the shastras exhibit a great variety of opinions; but no difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of austerity."

Ram Mohunroy in 1818 published in Calcutta, in Bengalee and English, a pamphlet entitled, "A Conference between an Advocate and an Opponent of the practice of burning widows," which I should be happy to see reprinted in this country. A quotation or two from it will shew the sentiments of the humane and enlightened among the Hindoos relative to the Suttee:—"The Veda declares—'By living in the practice of regular and occasional duties the mind may be purified. By hearing and reflecting and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brumhu may be attained. Therefore from a desire during life, of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed!' Menu, Yagnyuvulkyu, and others, have, in their respective codes of law, prescribed to widows the duties of ascetics only. The ancient saints and holy teachers and their commentators and yourselves, (addressing Advocates of the Suttee,) as well as we, and all others, agree

* Townley's Answer to the Abbe Dubois, p. 189.

that Menu is better acquainted than any other lawgivers with the spirit of the Vedas. He has directed widows to spend their lives as ascetics." It is thus closed :—"It is to me a source of great satisfaction that you (the Advocates) are now ready to take this matter into your serious consideration. By forsaking prejudice and reflecting on the shastra, what is really conformable to its precepts may be perceived, and the *evil and disgrace brought on this community, by the crime of female murder, will cease.*"

Mr. Townley, in his "Answer to the Abbe Dubois," shews the opinions of the Hindoos upon this subject :—"I have heard of the reply being repeatedly given to the expostulations of Europeans; "*If there is any blame in our proceedings, it belongs to you yourselves, for we are acting under British sanction.*" He adds, "The native who instructed me in the Bengalee language, (who was a brahmun of more than ordinary intelligence,) frequently expressed his surprize to me that Government did not issue an order that no more Suttees should be permitted, intimating his conviction that no commotion whatever would ensue."*

Ah why is Britain afraid to do justice upon those who shed innocent blood?—"Where are the bowels of our mercy?—Where our fears of the retributive justice of Heaven?—How long shall this scourge continue to desolate India, and dishonour Britain? We may answer in the memorable language of a brahmun, '*Till the British Government shall think proper to abolish it?*'"+

"The pundits have intimated that if Government will pass a regulation, amercing by fine every brahmun who attends a burning, or every zemindar who permits him to attend it, the practice cannot long continue. The ceremony, unsanctified by the presence of the priests, will lose its dignity in the eyes of the people." (Southey.)

When Dr. Johns was in India (in 1812) the principal brahmuns at the Mission Press, Serampore, were asked, whether the interference of the Government to suppress so horrid a custom would be objected to by the natives. They promptly answered *that it would not*, and encouraged the idea of such an interference." †

"It ought to be considered, that some of the most respectable pundits do not approve the practice, and would be happy if it were abolished: while many others *reproach us for permitting it to exist.*" §

In the Asiatic Journal for July, 1826, published in London, are three letters in English, written by Bengalees, on the subject of Suttees, which are very curious compositions, and show the sentiments of sensible natives on the nature of this appalling rite. We can give but a short extract or two.—"Her brother Roopnarain Gosaul, who is supposed to be a wealthy man, and being so long in the Hon. Company's service, ought to be discharged from his place, and prosecuted in the Supreme Court for giving countenance to such an inhuman act. *No body anger could be minded when a life is concerned; she ought to be prevented to burn.* If Governor General gives orders to remove

* Townley's Answer to the Abbe Dubois, p. 180. 190. + "Grimshawe's Appeal," p. 24. † See Dr. John's Pamphlet, p. 92. Account of York Meeting, p. 23, 24. § Asiatic Observer, No. 8. Oct., 1824, p. 371.

the woman from her relations, at her pronouncing that she will burn, and allow her to remain *one day* in a comfortable place with English Ladies that understands the country's language, there is no doubt her mind shall be purified, and her foolish thoughts shall be removed, and will not be anxious to do such a base act as to burn with dead person." (Muddunmohun Mullick, Calcutta, Jan. 27, 1826.)

"I fully agree with the sentiments contained in Muddunmohun's letter. If the Government in Council gives order to remove all the women on pronouncing that they will burn, to be placed with an intelligent English person to persuade them to the contrary, and not allow any of the relations to converse, or make them take *intoxicated drugs*, they will never die in such an inhuman manner. I have lost my wife these *six years*, and have not married again for fear she may burn with my body at my death.—The Hindoo woman have no sense; they hear from their superiors the cremation is an holy act, and they are fool enough to listen it, which only induce them to express their sentiments that they will burn; and as soon as such a declaration is obtained all the unfeeling relations uses all their exertions to induce the poor unfortunate widows to suffer such a cruel death. I hope you will not refuse to have this appeared in your interesting Paper, and oblige me." (Sunchurn Sill, Calcutta, Jan. 31, 1826.)

What shall urge British humanity, magnanimity, and justice, to abolish, without delay, the bloody rite of Suttee? *Let the magnitude of the evil be seriously considered.* The following is an account of the number of Suttees under the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, during the years specified.—

<i>SUTTEES IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY.</i>									
1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	
378	442	707	839	650	597	654	583	575	
<i>MADRAS PRESIDENCY.</i>									
<i>1817 to 1819, 183,—Average per annum 61. No returns since.</i>									
<i>BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.*</i>									
1819	1820	1821	1822	1823					
42	67	50	48	38					

The aggregate of these details is 5853. "What a tragic history would a complete detail of these burnings make!" Could they have been assembled in one city (say Calcutta) for a general massacre, would they have perished? No!—but is the evil, the guilt, the responsibility, less because these fires are lighted up daily and in various parts of the land? "The question (discussed here) is *a question of life or of death*, and consequently we must bring to the consideration of it all those rules of evidence, and all that process of argument, which can alone satisfy men's sober judgment, and direct them in a decision, which is to terminate either in the death-warrant of the vic-

* See Par. Papers, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.—Account of York Meeting, p. 21.

tims or in the revocation of their degraded and mournful lot." Britain delays to speak the decisive word that shall save thousands of unhappy widows from death, but, "*On whom will the blood of the many thousand victims that are destined to perish be visited?*" This is a solemn and momentous question, before which we may well pause and weigh all the present and all the future consequences. It cannot be dissembled, that the charge of guilt attaches primarily to the *Government of India*, who are the conscious spectators of the act, and largely possessing the means, are yet deterred from employing those means for its suppression. It next attaches to the *British Government* at home, who acquiesce in the motives that influence this reluctance. And finally, the *whole British people become parties to this moral guilt*, if knowing, as they do, the existence of the crime, they do not consider themselves pledged to use all lawful means for abolishing a rite, derogatory to the British character, forming an anomaly in the administration of civil law, and involving a flagrant breach of the law of God."*

The Marquis of Hastings would have "abolished the atrocious practice, if he could have relied upon the popular feeling being in his favour in our own country, and that the danger was felt not in India, (Proh dolor!) but only in England."† Let the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland speak and supplicate that no more innocent blood may be shed. Bedford, in 1823, and the village of Crail, near Edinburgh, in 1825, have taken the lead in this work of justice and mercy. The present year, 1827, is likely to see something important done. The abolition of human sacrifices has been discussed in the Court of East India Proprietors, and advances made towards the attainment of this desired object. Notice is given in the House of Commons of a motion on the subject of Suttees, for May 24th, and petitions have been sent from York, Rochdale, Colchester, &c. and others are preparing at Derby, Loughborough, Retford, &c. The most concise and comprehensive form of a petition I have seen, is that of Loughborough, which is as follows:—"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town of —— and its Vicinity,

"Sheweth,—That your Petitioners learn with extreme concern that the inhuman and impious practice in India, of burning Widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, still continues.

"That your Petitioners while they gratefully acknowledge that of late years exertions have been made for the moral and religious improvement of India, and that the influence of the British Government has been successfully exerted in the prevention of many superstitious cruelties hitherto practised by the Natives; would earnestly implore your Honourable House to command such further exercise of authority as may secure the abrogation of the practice, so opposed to the law of God, and so revolting to humanity. And your Petitioners will ever pray."

Under the law of Moses even uncertain murder was to be expi-

* Grimshawe's Appeal, p. 20. 26. † Account of York Meeting, p. 6.

ated, and the people taught to pray ;—“ Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israel’s charge.” (Deu. xxi. 8.) May Britain feel her responsibility to “ put away the guilt of innocent blood.”

“ Ye British matrons, husbands, sires,
Your souls with soft compassion glowing ;
O haste to quench the horrid fires
Whence human blood is sadly flowing ;
With your lov’d King and Country plead,
Implore the Senate of your nation
That British India may be freed
From scenes of such abomination.”

The existence of Suttees and other cruel rites in India, for many ages, is a proof of its benighted, degraded state. Bible and Missionary Societies are the great means of promoting its conversion to Christianity. “ The Gospel is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth.” I have seen a Bengalee Christian and a preacher who, when a boy, set fire to the pile that consumed his mother to ashes. Behold the triumph of Christianity!—Let the friends of humanity and of true religion prosecute the good work of evangelizing India and the East, for their “ labour is not in vain in the Lord.”

We shall close in the impressive language of a Writer in the Asiatic Observer, No. viii. (published in Calcutta, Oct. 1824). Speaking of this cruel practice, it is observed :—“ How many noble souls have ventured on some bold enterprize, without seeing how they could accomplish their design; yet, by close attention and perseverance, a way has opened to their view, and means have offered themselves almost spontaneously for forwarding their wishes, so that at length they have attained to that which at first appeared to them almost impossible to be acquired. Indeed the noblest plans and institutions by which our country (Britain) is adorned, and our happiness increased, have originated in this manner. Let *one man of influence in society* take the object into consideration, deliberately, and with a determination to find out some plan to which he can solicit the attention of the public, and we have as little doubt of his success as we have of the disposition of the public to assist him. Various ideas have been started on this subject and some of them, were they adopted, might prove beneficial. It has been thought that it would be good for the inhabitants of Calcutta to present a petition to the Supreme Government here, or through them to *our own Legislators at home*. It would certainly be an honourable thing to those who made it, and entitle them to a place among the friends of India to the latest age. It has been suggested that it would be very honourable to the ladies in Calcutta were they all to unite in presenting a petition and soliciting the Lady of the Governor General to do them the honour of putting her name first. This would display the humanity and sympathy of the Calcutta ladies, and have a great practical effect, by leading many to impress on their husbands the importance of rescuing a degraded part of the female sex. If all the *Knights* of the present day could be persuaded to undertake the rescuing of Bengalee widows from the flames, they would attempt a nobler deed than was ever achieved since the order

was instituted; and, should they be successful, would transmit to posterity a name more honourable than any or all of their brethren. Another plan that has been proposed, and acted upon in part, is, that Houses of Agency, Mercantile Houses, &c., would set their faces against this practice, by dismissing from their employment any person who has been brutal enough *to burn his own mother*. This would teach the natives in general the abhorrence that Europeans have of the crime, and would, in many instances, prevent it from being committed."

"We are encouraged, from the spirit of the British Nation, and from the prophecies of Scripture, confidently to anticipate an end to the miseries we now deplore. That a Parliament which has abolished the Slave Trade, will for ever permit the burning of widows, we can never believe. Slavery did not receive its death-blow at once: many blows were aimed at the monster before its head was broken; and its carcase is not even yet all consumed. So it may be in the case under discussion: it may be brought forward several times before all objections to it, real and fictitious, are answered; but, notwithstanding this, *unless humanity and wisdom perish from the British Senate, we are certain that sooner or later they will put an end to this horrid practice.* We argue, not from the cessation of many cruel ceremonies among other nations that this will certainly be the case; we have a surer word of prophecy on which to depend: the Most HIGH has declared that he will give his SON "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." If these nations are given to him, whose law is love, and whose Gospel is peace, then will be brought to pass the saying that is written: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock; and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord."*

* Asiatic Observer, p. 369, 370, 374, 375.

THE END.

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